CULTURAL SYMBIOSIS in Kerala

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M. G. S. Narayanan

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FOREWORD

I have read this collection of research papers by Mr. M. G. S. Narayanan with a great deal of pleasure and profit. Although each of them is on a different topic they are united by a common theme as the author has rightly claimed. They illustrate the liberal traditions of the rulers and people of Kerala who welcomed aliens, in a spirit of hospitality which is striking by modern comparisons.

I am especially pleased to associate myself with this publication, since it is one of the ambitions of Calicut University to make a contribution to the study of Kerala history. There is a wealth of early history in this land yet to be unearthed. Kerala is in some ways unique in that it had intimate relations with the hinterland of the Pandyas and the Cholas on the one hand and on the other with the nations of the West across the seas. On his own initiative Mr. Narayanan has taken the lead in investigations into this part of Kerala history, and he has already made some original contributions to it as shown by these papers. It is my hope that in the years to come he will grow to the stature of an acknowledged authority on early Kerala history.

Calicut University
13th Dec. '72

M. M. GHANI
Vice Chancellor
Calicut University

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PREFACE

Legends are often presented as history in Kerala so that we have a distorted picture of her past. These legends are mostly employed to glorify or condemn one community or another. Fragments of truth are mixed up with legends by people who complain about the scarcity of source materials for a study of history in Kerala. In fact there is no such scarcity but only the absence of proper study. The real obstacles for study and understanding lie in the complexity of *Vatteluttu* script and the obscurity of *Old Malayalam* language, not to speak of the lack of organised effort in this line.

In the post-Independence period government agencies have exhibited a strange apathy and lack of initiative in this matter and academic bodies are either sluggish or starved of resources. An attempt is made here to present and interpret some old epigraphic records relating to the settlements of different creeds and communities outside the fold of Brahminical Hinduism in Kerala. The claim is that a meaningful pattern of development is discovered, a pattern that merits our serious consideration too. The author wishes to place on record his grateful acknowledgement of the pioneering work of Prof. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai which has provided a firm foundation for historical studies in relation to Kerala.

The research papers collected in this volume were originally written for different seminars and conferences at different times. However, they possess an underlying unity of theme though not perhaps a uniformity of style. They deal with the little known aspects of some of the early settlements of the Buddhists, Jains, Jews, Christians and Muslims in Kerala. These early settlements grew

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up with the active patronage and assistance of orthodox Hindu chieftains and kings. They retained their separate identity. There was no confrontation or conflict with Hinduism but there was no fusion either. Therefore we reject the familiar concept of synthesis in favour of that of symbiosis to describe the pattern of communal relations in this region.

This new concept of symbiosis requires an explanation which is furnished in the introductory paper that follows here. The first chapter undertakes a brief survey of creeds and communities through the ages and the five other chapters discuss problems related to some of the early documents of the non-Hindu groups in this territory. References given at the end are elaborate and explanatory. The Malayalam transliteration and English translation of the most important documents, some of which are now being published for the first time, are given in the form of appendices. Their text is based on the author's own decipherment and interpretation. It is hoped that the present study will stimulate further research in the field on the part of scholars and help laymen understand the mysterious ways of history in shaping the multi-religious community life of Kerala.

The author wishes to thank the Kerala Historical Society for undertaking to publish the work; the Mathrubhumi Press, Calicut, for the neat and efficient printing; and Miss K. Girija and Mr. N. Ussain for secretarial assistance. He welcomes criticism and constructive suggestions, for this kind of work is always bound to remain imperfect and require constant revision and correction.

It would be highly improper for me to thank Prof. M. M. Ghani, the Vice-Chancellor, for having contributed a foreword to this book for I am permanently indebted to him beyond words for his constant encouragement, wise counsel and gentle guidance. My friends and colleagues in the department have gladly shared the burden of my work though the responsibility for its defects are entirely mine.

M. G. S. NARAYANAN

Dept. of History
Calicut University
August, 1972

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INTRODUCTORY

WHEN two organisms of different species live together and derive mutual benefit from the association, the partnership is called symbiosis, a well-known phenomenon in the field of natural science. In ancient Kerala this type of relationship is found to have existed in the case of heterogenous religio-cultural groups like Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The massive organism of Hindu society offered hospitality to other creeds from time to time leading to a situation where peaceful coexistence of different communities became necessary and possible. This relationship was symbiotic but not parasitic, since it was an agreement for mutual advantage. The outsiders were treated as paying guests in Kerala.

These divergent religio-cultural units were not formed as the consequence of military conquests or even political conflicts in Kerala. The Hindu monarchs and chieftains of the post-Sangam period ruled over a fertile agricultural tract the peace and safety of which were guaranteed by the Western Ghats on one side and the Arabian sea on the other. This land itself was a secret shared between the sea and the mountain, an illegitimate child of the two natural forces, protected by and provided for by them in a special way. Therefore there was an assurance of plenty and of peace. Thus *Kulasekhara*, the 9th century *Cera* king, who was also a playwright of considerable merit, could proudly declare that he was "master of Kerala made up of charming paddy fields."[1] The *Cera* kings presided over a comparatively peaceful agrarian community with a Brahmin (Nambudiri) elite which was dedicated to the classical ideal of Indian culture. At the same time these kings had under them small urban groups of

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merchants and artisans with non-Vedic or non-Hindu religious affiliations. Brahminical Aryan society which had taken roots in Kerala atleast by the 7th-8th centuries A. D. needed the services of such foreign elements as it was allergic to the sea and full of contempt for the 'vulgar' professions of industry and trade.[2]

The pan-Indian trading classes—*Chettis, Vaniks* etc— domiciled in Kerala and carrying on inland trade seem to have been mostly the followers of heterodox Aryan creeds like Jainism and Buddhism while the foreigners settled in coastal towns and monopolising seaborne trade and commerce were largely devotees of the Semitic creeds of Judaism, Christainity, and Islam. These were all patronised by the rulers of Kerala in their own interests. Foreign traders were always welcome in this country and were often invited to settle down in some ruler's territory because of the special advantages in trade and sea-power guaranteed by their presence. They knocked, and the doors were opened to them. Thus the traditional policy of religious tolerance was a byproduct of trade, fostered by necessity and ambition on both sides. Kerala's location by the side of the ancient international highway of seaborne trade, and her wealth of scents and spices, made her unique.

In ancient and medieval Europe spices and pepper were essential to preserve the extra meat, produced by compulsory cow-slaughter in winter, and to make it palatable.[3] In Kerala the gold and silver of Roman coinage was in such great demand that the chronology of Roman emperors could now be reconstructed with the help of the Roman coins in Kerala hoards alone.[4] They continued in circulation for long centuries after the Roman empire![5] There was immediate prospect of increased revenue from trade for the Hindu rulers, and the outsiders in turn found attractive new markets for their goods in Kerala. In the long run there was beneficial cultural exchange effected in an organic manner, i. e. the new culture was absorbed silently by the major community through language, faith, art patterns, and even race-mixture while the settlers borrowed the style of life and thought from the local people. To cite but one example, the vocabulary of the Malayalam language, originally Dravidian in character, has been enriched not only by Aryan, but also, though to a lesser extent, by Semitic and European

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languages. On the other hand words in Old Malayalam, like *'arisi'* (rice), have travelled from Kerala through Greece and Rome to England and America.[6]

Thus the multi-coloured carpet of Kerala society has been woven through centuries with Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian and Islamic elements coexisting without losing their identity or even their contrast in character. It must be remembered that each religion brought not only a creed but also a specific way of life. The major community was much influenced by these culture contacts—they received several non-Indian strains of plants like tapioca, papaya, cashew and tobacco from the Western world, Chinese pottery, gun powder and chillies from China, and the best imported Arab horses, and Persian scents, and Greek wine, and also the worst forms of sailor's diseases into the bargain. Perhaps the best characteristics that the Kerala people acquired were temperamental adjustability and openmindedness while the worst were a love of imitation and lack of self-confidence. The minority groups were Indianised, Hinduised, and also Keralised. It may be pointed out that the Jains were almost completely absorbed in the Nayar community and the Buddhists in the Ilava community both typical of Kerala.[7] The Jews acquired a whole division of Malayalam-speaking 'Black Jews' in spite of all their notorious exclusiveness and racial arrogance. We have to add that Kerala was perchaps the only land where they received religious and social tolerance for centuries. The Christians received Hindu names, rituals of worship like the use of native *nilavilakku,* and social customs like the wearing of *tali* by the bride. The Muslims constructed temple-like mosques, adopted matriliny in certain areas, and cultivated a new dialect of Arab-Malayalam with its own folk-literature.

From time to time an individual ruler in Kerala was fascinated by an exotic creed. There are legends not only of the royal Saivite saint *Ceraman Perumal Nayanar* and the royal Vaisnavite saint *Kulasekhara Alvar* but also of the *Pallivana Perumal* (the king who lived in the *Palli)* who might have been a Jain, Buddhist, or Christian, and the *Makkattupoya Perumal* (the king who went to Mecca) who was certainly a Mussalman. These legends must contain kernels of historical truth as they are cherished by all

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communities including the major Hindu community in Kerala. In more recent times the Portuguese have recorded the secret conversion to Christianity by a raja of *Tanor* in central Kerala.[8]

More important than such occasional conversion was the continuous patronage offered by orthodox Hindu rulers to non-Hindu colonisers in return for financial or political-military assistance. This pattern is clearly perceptible in the beginning of the modern period when the *Zamorin* of Calicut was known as the permanent ally of the Arab Muslims and the Raja of Cochin was the loyal friend of the Portuguese, and later on, the Dutch also. It came to such a pass that sometimes these native rulers depended on their foreign allies to such an extent as to lose their independence and initiative. This is another side of the picture. The point at issue here is that this tendency to welcome foreigners formed part of the general psychology of princes in Kerala through the ages. The expectation of wealth and support from the mysterious ocean could be described as a fixation in the minds of Keralites. This is well brought out by their favourite myth about *Parasurama's* axe which was often used to explain the genesis of the land of Kerala. Friendliness to foreign groups, deliberately ignoring the possible danger from them, could be noticed in the modern behaviour towards the Arabs and Europeans as well as the treatment of ancient Israelites, Romans and Syrians too. The social climate was conducive to mutual benefit which led to the establishment of pockets of non-Hindu culture as islands in the midst of the Hindu population.

Legends and traditions attribute the advent of Jews and Syrian Christians to the early centuries of the Christian era. The Jews associate their settlement in Kerala with the sack of Jerusalem in 68 A. D. and the Syrian Christians attribute the foundation of their church to St. Thomas the Apostle. They have some indirect and circumstantial evidence also to support such claims.[9] However, it is difficult to ascertain the truth of such traditions especially when the claims are looked upon as connected with social prestige. This is again the case of the Muslim tradition regarding the spread of Islam in Kerala in the days of the prophet, a tradition rejected by such eminent early Muslim writers as Sheikh Zeinuddin.[10] These traditions belong to the realm of probability but not of

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historical certainty. Later on a vivid picture is presented of Christian, Jewish and Muslim settlements in the epigraphical records of the *Cera* kingdom and its successor states. In the case of the Jain and Buddhist influence in Kerala it could be traced back to the Sangam age but again concrete and detailed evidence is procured only from the epigraphic and literary records of a later stage.

The present work is a collection of studies of inscriptional data regarding different religio-cultural groups other than those of the Hindus, presenting less known facts about their early settlements in Kerala. The better known aspects are summarised or sometimes taken for granted, and new facts unearthed by research or new interpretation of old evidence related to date, background, history etc. are brought out here. They reveal the benevolent acts of Kerala kings or chieftains expressed in charters or grants and preserved in copper or stone. These separate acts formed some of the significant initial steps leading to cultural symbiosis in Kerala.

A common pattern is found in the early stages of the growth of non-Hindu pockets of culture in Kerala. They are all associated with industry or trade while the Hindus built up their culture on an agrarian economic base. Jainism was cultivated by the immigrant traders from Mysore, Karnataka, and Pandi and their pockets are usually found along the Ghat ranges in *Wynad, Palghat,* and *Kulithura.* Buddhism was at first popular in the Alleppey-Kottayam region where it was probably brought by sea by the early traders and toddy-tappers from Ceylon. The Jews, Christians and Muslims operated from the chief harbour towns along the shoreline. They all found a hospitable soil and perhaps never faced religious persecution.

Atula, court-poet and chronicler of the *Mushaka* king *Srikantha* in the beginning of the 11th century, aptly describes the religious harmony in the capital city of *Kolam* in a single verse in his *Mushakavamsa kavya,* the earliest known work of dynastic history in the Sanskrit language. He states that "different deities coexisted in peace like wild beasts forgetting their natural animosity in the vicinity of a holy hermitage."[11] The quarrelsome nature of the creeds and the unique quality of the achievement are atonce brought to light in this passage. What he said of *Kolam* in the

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11th century was applicable to all Kerala through the ages. Five centuries later a foreign traveller, Pyrard de Laval, says the same thing about Calicut in different words:

> "Calicut is the busiest and most full of all traffic and commerce in the whole of India; it has merchants from all parts of the world, and of all nations and religions by reason of the liberty and security accorded to them there; for the king permits the exercise of every religion, and yet it is strictly forbidden to talk, dispute, or quarrel on that subject, so that there never arises any contention on that score, every one living in great liberty of conscience under the favour or authority of the king who holds that to be a cardinal maxim of government with a view to making his kingdom very rich and of great intercourse."[12]

This phenomenon of the peaceful coexistence of different creeds has been loosely called synthesis by several scholars before. Actually the abstract philosophical concept with Hegelian overtones does not convey the right idea in this case. It is true that different creeds coexisted, but no creed could be described as the anti-thesis arising from the thesis of Hinduism, and no synthesis had ever been formed. In fact there was no confrontation but only accommodation and peaceful growth in parallel ways. Barring Jainism and Buddhism which practically disappeared, the other creeds continued to maintain their identity but still there was more of mutual co-operation than conflict. Therefore the present writer has borrowed the term symbiosis from natural science to describe this historical phenomenon in Kerala.

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1. Kulasekhara Varma, *Subhadradhananjayam*, Prologue.

"Tasya rajnah kalamarasi pesalakaidarika keraladhinadhasya sri kulasekharavarmano nijanibandhanamadya badhnati budhahridayam"

2. See Chapter V. p. 33 and Note No. 12

3. Europeans found it easier to kill a good number of their cattle than feed them during winter. The meat was preserved with salt, pepper and spices. Pepper is mentioned as the 'Indian remedy' by several ancient western writers on medicine. It was also an item of luxury on the dining tables of Rome. There were special warehouses for storing it. Since Kerala held a world monopoly in pepper it became costly in Europe. Pliny (XII. 14) condemned this Roman craze for pepper which drained gold out of the empire. When Alaric the Goth laid seige to Rome the terms he offered for raising the seige included the immediate payment of 3000 pounds of pepper.

Pepper figured as the principal article of import into England in the middle ages. The first of the tradeguilds that functioned in London was that of the Pepperers. When poet Chaucer died, the the most valued gift he left behind to a relative was a small packet of pepper.

For details, See Dr. P. J. Thomas, 'Kerala in Early Days', *Kerala Studies* (Trivandrum, 1955) pp. 28–43

4. See P. L. Gupta, *Kerala Coins* (Trivandrum, 1969)

5. The coin called *'Dinara'*, evidently a relic of the Roman trade, is mentioned as the currency in a *Cera* inscription of the beginning of the 9th century i. e. The *Valappalli* copper-plate of Rajasekhara. See *Travancore Archaeological Series*, II. I. No. 2. pp. 8–14

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6. In Greek language the word *Oryza* denoted rice. It was derived from *Arisi* in Tamil and Old Malayalam. This was clearly the result of contact with Kerala. Atheneus quotes Megasthenes (C. 300 B. C.) on *Oryza heptha* (cooked rice) and Strabo (C. 20 A. D.) mentions the process of its cultivation. Dr. Oppert says that there is no Sanskrit or Aryan root for the Greek word *Oryza* which has given rise to the English word rice. See K. P. P. Menon, *History of Kerala,* (Ernakulam, 1924) I. pp. 85–6

7. This is an inference based on certain relics and practices. Some old Jain temples like those in Kallil and Chitral have been converted into Bhagawati temples mostly frequented by Nayars. Two Nayar families, *Tekkedath* and *Vadakkedath,* are mentioned in local tradition as the owners of the old *Tirukkunavay* Jain temple. Moreover the Nayar community has been absorbing groups of traders like Tarakan, Muttan and Chetti even in recent times.

The *Ilavar* are immigrants from *Ilam* or Ceylon where Buddhism took root from very early times. The Alleppey—Kottayam region has many Buddhist images and temple festivals resembling Buddhist car festivals, and it is also an *Ilava* centre.

8. See D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar* (Bangalore, 1939) I. pp. 133–37.

9. See Chapter V. p. 31. and Note No. I.

10. Zeinuddin, *Tuhfat-ul-Mujahideen,* Chap. 2

11. Atula, *Mushakavamsakavya,* Sarga 12. Sloka 112. See *T. A. S.* II. I. Op. Cit. p. 94.

"Kritaspadah kanana satvajatayah Tapobhritam siddhimatam ivasrame Jagat pratitativiruddhavrittayah Sahakhila yatra vasanti devatah."

12. *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval,* Vol. I. p. 404. Quoted by K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut* (Calicut, 1938) p. 90.

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I

CO-EXISTENCE OF CREEDS AND COMMUNITIES

HISTORIANS have generally indulged in sentimental praise of the social harmony that existed in Kerala in the past but few have attempted the analytical approach with a view to discover the secret forces at work, their characteristic strength and limitations. The location of the state on the Western seaboard, at the centre of the international highway of sea-borne trade connecting the East and the West, made it a meeting point of many worlds, a melting pot of races and creeds, from early times. At the dawn of history we find this land fairly well-settled by Dravidians in a semi-tribal state of civilization. There was a casteless community vertically divided into groups on the basis of topography and occupation. Wars were common and travel was risky but the rural folk were mostly left alone by the fighting forces. We have colourful accounts of ploughing and harvesting, fishing and hunting, dancing, singing, and drinking in the Sangam works of the first three centuries of the Christian era.

The first Aryan pioneers must have peeped into this Dravidian country some five hundred or four hundred years before the Christian era in the course of their southward expansion. They were mostly agriculturists lured by the possibility of cultivating virgin lands, and traders who risked everything for money, and a few missionaries who carried forward the banner of Vedic culture. More and more Aryans followed in the wake of the Jain exodus into the South under Chandragupta Maurya and the Buddhist missionary

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activity organised by Asoka. They came in large numbers representing the more advanced civilization of the North. Did their penetration to the South result in bloodshed and rivalry between the Aryan and Dravidian communities? Possibly not, though an occasional conflict of interest here and there cannot be ruled out completely. In spite of the scanty nature of evidence we are able to ascertain the fact that they were mostly men of peace and that they were generally welcomed by the ruling chieftains as the heralds of prosperity and culture.

The caste system, and the consequent separation between the communities, appear to have manifested themselves only at a later stage. Sangam works mention the Brahmin pioneers with great respect as teachers councillors and ambassadors of kings, as the makers of new codes of conduct, and the importers of higher philosophy and literature. Sage *Agasthya* is the best symbol of the civilising mission of the Aryan race. The slowness and the gradualness of the Aryan migration to the South, spread over many centuries, must have made it less conspicuous and irritating than otherwise. The new-comers as well as the old inhabitants appear to have recognised that the process worked out to their mutual advantage.

Immigrant waves of the so-called *Parasuraːna* Brahmins might have established their 32 settlememts to the south of river *Netravati* between the 3rd and the 8th centuries of the Christian era in the fertile valleys of the West-coast. Some early scholars had speculated about the possibility of an Aryan conquest of Kerala and the subjugation of the *Nayars* and other tribes. This *Keralolpathi* myth is now exploded. Today the consensus of opinion among scholars would favour a theory of socio-cultural infiltration rather than military conquest. These *Nambudiri* settlements had the patronage of native kings who became Kshatriyas and undertook to champion the cause of *chaturvarnya*. As the moral and material superiority of the Aryans manifested itself, the majority of the Dravidians gradually acquiesced in the caste system which relegated many of them to the outer darkness of poverty and slavish obedience. A new theological pretext for supporting inequality acted as a balm to sooth the harshness of communal conflict and class struggle.

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A fatalistic view of life scotched all progress in the modern sense but it paved the way for stability and social harmony through the ages.

Communities and sub-castes were formed in a temple-centred society on the basis of hereditary occupation. Each group had its allotted place. However, the living traditions of *'Parachi petta pantiru kulam'* and *'Pakkanar'* indicate a vigorous but ineffective protest against the new set up among the masses. It must be remembered that *Pulayas* were agrestic serfs, bought and sold along with property, and that a flourishing slave market existed in medieval Kerala. As the slaves were outcastes in society, as their human rights were totally suppressed, as they had no voice in matters, there was no social tension worth noticing or recording anywhere. Still the institutions of *'Pulappidi'* and *'Parappidi'* which came down to the very dawn of the modern era serve to remind us about the latent conflicts between the *Nayars* and *Pulayas* in spite of a general atmosphere of harmony and peace.

While the caste system and the fatalistic–pessimistic view of life helped the integration of society on a basis of inequality, the tolerance characteristic of the non-prophetic religions enabled the peaceful coexistence of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, in Kerala as in other parts of India. We have instances of the patronage of the famous Buddhist vihara at *Srimulavasam* near *Ambalappuzha* by the kings of *Kolathunadu*, *Kodungallur*, and *Aynadu* who were all outstanding supporters of the Brahminical religion. *Vikrama Rama* and *Valabha*, kings of *Kolathunadu*, conducted the repair of this Buddhist shrine in the 10th and 11th centuries. *Vijayaraga* the *Cera* king of *Kodungallur* at the close of the 9th century appointed a special officer to look after its property and welfare. *Varaguna* the king of *Aynadu* in South Travancore in the same period gave away much land for the upkeep of the vihara. Similarly the Jain temples of *Tirukkunavay* near *Kodungallur*, *Tiruvannur* near *Calicut*, *Kinalur* near *Perambra*, and *Kallil* near *Perumbavur*, existed in the heart of the Hindu kingdom of the *Ceras*. The pilgrimage points of *Potiyil* hill and Cape Comorin were held sacred by the Hindus and the Mahayana Buddhists alike. The *Cilappatikaram*, composed by the *Cera* prince *Ilanko Atikal*, bears witness to the continuous dialogue between different religions which took place here. In this context *Atula*, the 11th century court

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poet of *Srikantha*, the king of *Kolam*, is clearly justified in claiming that many creeds co-existed peacefully in his country like wild animals in the vicinity of an *asrama*.

The *Ilava* people, i. e. the people of *Ilam* or Ceylon, came to settle down in Kerala in large numbers during the *Cera* period. Many of them were skilled workmen as toddy-tappers, plying their trade peacefully. But many others came as *'Cekor'* or mercenary soldiers in search of service and adventure. We know from the records of the 9th and 10th centuries that the *Ilava* toddy-tappers were protected by guild rules. The *'Cekor'* who came from Ceylon are celebrated in the colourful medieval folksongs of North Kerala. Since both the skill in tapping and the skill in fighting were in great demand in those days, the *Ilavas* got a warm reception though the rigidity attained by the caste-system prevented them from rising in the social scale.

A complicating factor in Kerala social pattern was introduced by the presence of small communities of Israelite and Syrian origin through the ages. When exactly the Jewish merchants came first to settle down in the ports in large numbers cannot be ascertained though proof of the existence of trade between their kingdom and our parts can be traced back to the Old Testament of the Bible. According to Jewish legends a colony of their people reached our shores following the destruction of Jerusalem in 78 A. D. This may or may not be true. We have concrete epigraphic evidence of Jewish settlements called *Ancuvannam* in Kollam city by the middle of the 9th century. A surprising factor is that while the Jews and Christians were always fighting in Europe, the Jewish corporation of *Ancuvannam* and the Christian corporation of *Manikkiramam* jointly undertook to protect the Christian church of *Tarsa* built and endowed by *Mar Sapir Iso*. The heads of the Jewish and Christian communities enjoyed many powers and privileges like the other native chieftains. Their corporations possessed liberal charters which guaranteed a good deal of autonomy without reference to their faith and race. Like the Jews the Christians also received a warm welcome on our shores. Christian legend attributes the establishment of the community to Saint Thomas, the Apostle, but this again is not supported by any concrete contemporary evidence.

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At any rate, by about the 9th century, Christianity had sent its roots deep into the soil of Kerala.

How did the rulers and people of Kerala happen to show such hospitality to these alien people professing alien creeds and practicising alien customs? What lay behind such tolerance? Was it the expression of the nation's innate generosity or a cosmopolitan philosophy? There is another, more significant, explanation. It is a fact that early Jews and Christians came to this undeveloped semi-tribal Dravidian society, devoid of naval power and coinage, with shiploads of gold and the promise of trade. The interests of trade must have induced harmony in spite of religious and racial differences. Therefore the Christian church established by *Mar Sapir Iso* in the 9th century came under the protection of the state and the king himself ordered *Ilavar, Vellalar, Tachar, Vannar* etc. to co-operate with the settlers. Thus it was probably the wealth of *Joseph Rabban*, the Jew, which endeared him to the *Cera* king *Bhaskara Ravi* at the beginning of the 11th ceutury when the country was organising resistence against *Cola* aggression. Therefore the king was ready to grant the Jew and his successors in perpetuity the privileges of a chieftain exempting him from several taxes. In other words, charity began at the market place for it is difficult for us, with our inhuman caste system, to proclaim to the world that charity begins at home.

The dominant elite of this country possessed the wisdom to guarentee security of trade and freedom of religion to the settlers who came in the wake of trade. The Brahmin-Kshatriya prejudice against trade and navigation also induced them to leave such 'vulgar' affairs in the hands of the foreigners. Thus it was not difficult for the Jews and Christians, and the Muslims and *Chettis*, and Europeans at a later stage, to gain entry into the society of Kerala. The ruling circles could not anticipate that in the long run these numerically small groups who were economically powerful could prosper and multiply and pose a threat to their sacred empire.

Even the advent of Islam at the close of the *Cera* period in the 12th century did not materially alter the framework of society in Kerala. While the Muslims entered North India as hostile invaders and fanatical iconoclasts they came to the West-coast as friendly

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merchants and ambassadors of Arab culture. They were well received in Kerala by the rulers who found in them a substitute for the Syrian Christians and Jews whose international influence was waning. The story of the conversion of the last *Cera Perumal* to Islam is found both in Hindu and Muslim traditional chronicles. It must be placed at the beginning of the 12th centuary, and not in the 7th century or the 9th century, as earlier scholars had imagined, because the *Perumals* continued to rule beyond that period. The goodwill of the last *Perumal,* and probably more than that the prospect of increased sea-trade, must have tempted the petty chieftains of *Kolam, Kozhikode, Kodungallur* and *Kollam* to befriend the Arabs, the new masters of the ocean-horse. We have the testimony of Arab and European travellers to show that *Madayi, Valarpattanam, Puduppattanam, Pantalayini, Kozhikode, Kodungallur* and *Kollam* developed Muslim settlements in the middle ages. According to Prof. K. V. Krishna Ayyar, the historian of the *Zamorins of Calicut,* these kings encouraged conversion of the fisher men folk to Islam with a view to build up a navy that could profit from Arab example and experience. This led to the growth of *Pudu-Islam* or New Islam in and around *Kozhikode.* With their help the *Zamorin* extended his own sphere of influence. As a reward for their help the *Kozhikkottu Koya* was given a place on the right side of the Zamorin during the ceremonial function of the *Mamaka* or *Mahamagha.* The *Shah Bandar,* or Port Commissioner, of *Kozhikode* was a Muslim. The *Zamorin* patronised Muslims to such an extent that he was known as a Moorish chieftain in the West. The trade interests of *Kozhikode* made the *Zamorin* a vital link in the chain of Moorish powers from Cordoba in West Europe to Malacca in East Asia. The bonds of loyalty between the *Zamorin* and the Moors were tightened when they required each other's help in fighting the Portuguese menace. However, the clever diplomacy of the Portuguese could eventually sow the seeds of mistrust between the two-Hindu and Muslim-communities in North Kerala. The quick growth of the Muslim community in wealth and numbers upset the old balance of power in social life. Conflict of interest between Hindus and Muslims became inevitable. Signs of social tension are found reflected in Kerala's medieval folk literature. The *Vadakkan Pattukal*—Ballads of North Malabar—bear writness to the clashes between the wealthy Muslims of the

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bazaars and the Hindu aristocratic families. The Portuguese naturally exploited such possibilities to their own purpose. Their voluminous correspondence reveals how they induced the *Zamorin* to chastise the overgrown Muslim vassals like the *Marakkar* of *Kottakkal*. Reports of travellers prove that Muslims had grown rebellious in the countryside. Such stresses and strains acquired a political expression by the beginning of the 17th century when the *Zamorin* formed an alliance with the Portuguese against the *Marakkar* and captured him and handed him over to his foreign tormentors. This was a turning point in the history of communal relations in North Kerala. Old ties of loyalty were loosened. Seeds of communal conflict were sown. The drift which started then continued for about a century and it was quickened by the Mysore invasions and the policy of the British government culminating in the Malabar rebellion and continuing in different forms up to the time of independence.

The Portuguese efforts to create a pocket of influence by winning over the local Christians to allegiance towards the Roman church also left behind it a trail of communal feuds and bitterness. Their partial success in the attempt caused the Christian community to be divided. The *Udayamperur Sunahadose* took decisions calculated to wean the Christians away from the century - old Hindu influence. This, combined with the growth of Christian population, created new problems of social conflict in South Kerala similar to those created by the growth of Muslims in North Kerala. Exclusion from government service in the native state of Travancore compelled the Christians to seek profit in business and industry and also to discover new ways of acquiring land by clearing forests and cultivating the beds of backwater lakes. These proved to be a blessing in disguise for them. With their international affiliations revived and reasserted they became conscious of new opportunities both in Kerala and elsewhere. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar's efforts to put them down resulted in doubling their power and producing open Hindu-Christian conflict in Travancore.

The process of modernisation liberated the lower castes from the yoke of the upper castes within Hindu society and added a new dimension to the problem of social relations. Caste groups like the *Ilavas* revolted within the community. Paradoxically enough,

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the desire for progress and the craving for justice created new conditions of communal rivalry which ultimately threaten to block all progress and deny justice unless we are able to cultivate a new outlook and impart a new meaning and purpose to the nation's life.

In short, the old-world social infra-structure based on the sovereignty of the upper caste Hindu feudal aristocracy sanctified by religion and fortified by a system of medieval knighthood, could not endure in the modern world. Therefore it is not surprising to note that the resultant social harmony is also completely undone. Strange new forces are gradually but decisively reshaping sociocultural attitudes. Harmony in social life will be achieved today not by reviving old habits or outloook but by developing a new balance. This does not mean that the historical background is unimportant in solving the problem today. On the contrary, understanding the past alone can help us to get out of the prejudices which surround us and see reality face to face.

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II

VIKRAMADITYA VARAGUNA AND SRIMULAVASA VIHARA

THE *Paliyam* plates of *Ay* king *Vikramaditya Varaguna* were discovered and published in 1912 by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore.[1] Later on, Prof. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai of the University College, Trivandrum, undertook a study of these plates in 1956 in which he suggested a different date and a different interpretation for some of the passages in the text.[2] In the present study we propose to re-examine these conclusions in an attempt to arrive at a better assessment of their date, meaning, and historical significance.

Location of Srimulavasa: While editing the plates Gopinatha Rao was unable to identify the shrine of *Srimulavasa* mentioned in the plates. He observed:

> "The donee is said to be the *Bhattaraka* of *Tirumulapadam*. From this name it cannot be made out if the God is Buddha, Siva or Vishnu; nor am I able to find out where the temple of *Tirumulapadathu Bhattaraka* was situated".[3]

Subsequently he identified *Srimulavasam* as the Buddhist vihara mentioned in the *Mushakavamsakavya* where it is stated that the *Mushaka* prince *Vikrama Rama* saved the temple from

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encroachment by the sea by throwing large blocks of stone, and that the *Mushaka* prince *Valabha* visited the place on his way back to his country from a compaign to help the Kerala king against the *Cola*.[4] On account of the prevalence of Buddhist relics in that region, Gopinatha Rao was inclined to think that the vihara was located on the sea-coast very near *Tirukkunnappuzha* or *Ambalappuzha*.[5] Prof. Elamkulam accepted this view and confirmed it by pointing out the fact that a place called *Srimulavatam* actually exists there.[6] In the light of these findings the earlier assumption of Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyyer that *Srimulavasa* must be looked for somewhere between *Kolam* and *Kodungallur* may safely be set aside.[7]

The discovery of the identity of *Srimulavasa* is helpful in three ways. Firstly it gives us a clue regarding the arrival of the plates in *Paliyath* house. Since the Buddhist shrine was located in the *Cera* kingdom, it is likely that the Raja of Cochin who inherited the position of the *Ceras* of *Mahodayapura* became its patron or proprietor in due course and handed over its charters to his hereditary minister *Paliyath Achan*. Secondly we are able to understand the reference in the text to a certain *Vira Kota* described as the person "appointed by the king himself to protect the property of the temple." He must have been the *Cera* king's representative. Thirdly the grant of property to the *Cera* temple by the *Ay* king throws light on *Ay-Cera* relations during the period under discussion.

Date of Varaguna: The royal donor of the plates named *Varaguna* has rightly been distinguished by Gopinatha Rao from the *Pandya* king of that name on the basis of the reference to his own dynasty as *Vrishnikula*.[8] As Gopinatha Rao himself had edited the Huzur office plates of the *Ay* king *Vikramaditya Varaguna* earlier it was easy for him to identify the donors of the Huzur office plates and the *Paliyam* plates. He rightly placed this *Varaguna* as the immediate successor of *Karunandatakkan*.[9] Then he sought the help of Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai to calculate the date of the *Paliyam* plates on the basis of the astronomical data contained there. There is a sloka which says that the grant, of which details are to be found in the Tamil portion, was issued on a Thursday, in the Solar month of *Makara* and the Lunar month

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of *Pushya* when the *Nakshatra* was *Mrigasira*. In the same sloka this date is also described as falling in the year after the 15th year of the donor.[10] There is a statment at the end of the record to the effect that it was *Sukladwadasi* day.[11] When Swamikkannu Pillai wrote that Thursday, 30th December, A. D. 868 agreed with the astronomical specifications, Gopinatha Rao found it acceptable.[12] Mr. Rao imagined that *Karunandatakkan*, the immediate predecessor of *Varaguna*, lived until A. D. 866. Therefore he assumed that *Varaguna* must have come to the thorone somewhere around that date. Further, on the strength of the statement that the *Paliyam* plates were issued in the 15th year of the king, he guessed that *Varaguna* must have assumed kingship when he was around 13 years of age.

Prof. Elamkulam has challenged these assumptions regarding the date. He pointed out that *Karunandatakkan* the immediate predecessor of *Varaguna*, sat on the throne not until A. D. 866 but atleast until A. D. 879 as proved by the *Tiruvidaikkodu* inscription of his 22nd year, which Gopinatha Rao himself discovered earlier but somehow forgot while making this calculation.[13] Therefore the year 868 which falls in the 11th year of *Karunandatakkan* is clearly out of question for the *Paliyam* plates of *Varaguna*.

Prof. Elamkulam looked for other dates which would satisfy the astronomical conditions. He found one date each in A. D. 898 and A. D. 925 suitable for the purpose.[14] He rejected the first in favour of the second date. He argued that a passage in the text of the *Paliyam* plates contained a hidden reference to the threat of a *Cola* invasion by *Parantaka*, the son of *Aditya*. If this is to be true, A. D. 925 and not A. D. 898 should be the year of its composition.[15] Even after granting, for the sake of argument, that such a subtle political hint is sought to be conveyed, the professor's position will not bear scrutiny. How could one possibly think of describing *Aditya's* attempt to promote the interests of his son *Parantaka* in the present tense in A. D. 925, about 18 years after the death of *Aditya?* Therefore this argument, if it is accepted, may suit better the earlier date. However such fanciful interpretations cannot be made the basis for the calculation of date.

In fact the year A. D. 898 coinsidered and rejected by

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Prof. Elamkulam has a better claim than the one he accepted. Let us take the name *Vikramaditya Varaguna*. We have to remember that a certain *Varaguna* sat on the *Pandya* throne between A. D. 862 and 885.[16] Could it be that *Varaguna* was a title adopted by the *Ay* king in honour of the *Pandya* king of that name to show his political allegiance?

Karunandatakkan, the *Ay* king, had assumed the title of *Srivallabha* to acknowledge the supremacy of the then *Pandya* king *Sri Mara Srivallabha*.[17] *Karunandatakkan* came to the *Ay* throne in A. D. 857 while the *Pandya* king *Sri Mara Srivallabha* was alive.[18] The latter is also credited with a victory at *Vilinjam* the stronghold of the *Ays*.[19] Therefore the *Ays* had already been brought within the *Pandyan* sphere of influence. In the circumstances the presence of the term *Varaguna* in the name of the next *Ay* king cannot be dismissed as accidental. It is more logical to assume that the *Ays* continued their vassalage to the *Pandyas* in the next generation also. If this assumption is correct the *Ay* king *Varaguna* must have come to the throne before the death or retirement of the *Pandya* king *Varaguna*, i. e. before A. D. 885 at any rate.

Let us now examine the statement that the king *Varaguna* issued the grant while he was 15 years of age.[20] Gopinatha Rao took this to be the ruler's actual age.[21] Prof. Elamkulam dropped it altogether because he thought that the decipherment of the passage is not free from suspicion and that the sentiments expressed in the record are not those of a teenager but of a wise old man.[22] As a matter of fact there is no ambiguity about the passage in the reproduction of the copper plates which accompanies Gopinatha Rao's translation. However, Gopinatha Rao's assumption about the king's age is out of place.. We know that records of this period were usually dated in the regnal year of the sovereign. There is no reason to think that the present text showed a departure from this practice. Therefore we may conclude that the passage wrongly interpreted by Gopinatha Rao and unnecessarily omitted by Prof. Elamkulam really means that the grant was issued at the close of the 15th regnal year of *Varaguna*. As *Varaguna* must have come to the throne before A. D. 885, the year or death or retirement of the *Pandya* king *Varaguna*, this 15th year cannot be later than A. D. 900.

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The earliest possible date for *Ay* king *Varaguna's* coronation being A. D. 879, the last known year of his predecessor *Karunandatakkan,* the earliest possible date of the *Paliyam* plates of the 15th year of *Varaguna* would be A. D. 894. The latest possible date for this ruler's coronation being A. D. 885, the last known year of his *Pandyan* overlord whose name he adopted, the latest possible date for the *Paliyam* plates would be A. D. 900 according to the same calculation. Thus we have A. D. 894 and A. D. 900 as the upper and lower limits for the *Paliyam* plates. Therefore A. D. 898 which alone satisfied the astronomical requirements may be found acceptable.

Character of The Message: Apart from general comments about the *Ays* and their early home, Gopinatha Rao did not choose to explain the character of the document or its real significance. However, he made a pertinent remark about its unique nature. He observed:

> "The invocations to Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha have not hitherto been met with in inscriptions of the Tamil kings, such as those of the *Cholas,* the *Pandyas* the *Cheras* etc. It is only from literature that we learn that the worship of Buddha existed in the Tamil country and that some of the *Pandyas* and *Cheras* were of Buddha persuasion, but no epigraphical confirmation of it was hitherto forthcoming".[23]

In these plates we have evidence of devotion to Buddhism on the part of an *Ay* king. Since the Buddhist vihara is located in the *Cera* kingdom and a royal personage named *Virakota* is said to have been appointed by the king himself to look after the properties of the institution, we have indirect evidence of the patronage of Buddhism by the *Ceras* also.[24]

Certain remarks of Prof. Elamkulam regarding *Varaguna* and Buddhism appear to be misleading in this connection.
He remarked:

> "If a person without any background knowledge about *Varaguna* happened to read the *Paliyam* plates he might receive the impression that the king was a follower of Buddhism. *Varaguna* invokes the Budha and prays

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> for his blessings with such ecstacy of devotion. However, when we appreciate correctly the attitude to creed and caste exhibited by the common people of Kerala at that time, we realise the mistake of such inferences. There are certain inscriptions of *Varaguna* at *Tiruccanathu* Jain temple. One of them found below the *Parswanatha* image says that it was carved at the instance of *"Pattini Patarar Cattan Varaguna"*. *Pattini Patarar Cattan* means the chief disciple of *Padmavati Devi*. This proves that *Varaguna* honoured Jainism and became a devotee of *Padmavati Devi*. We have to remember that *Varaguna* was the successor of *Karunandatakkan* who built a *Vishnu* temple at *Parthivasekharapuram* and established a vedic institute there. A person exhibiting devotion towards Jainism or Buddhism should not be considered a non-Hindu for that reason. *Varaguna* himself entrusts the supervision of some property which he gave his wife to the *'Perumakkal'* of *Parthivapuram* temple. *Varaguna* was the first teacher to demonstrate that it is not creed but quality that matters in man".[25]

These lines are certainly intended to bring out the importance of religious tolerance which characterised the policy of several great rulers of ancient India. However tolerance does not mean the absence of strong personal conviction. It is true that *Karunandatakkan*, the predecessor of *Varaguna*, proved his devotion to Vaishnavite Hinduism by building a temple and a Vedic college. At the same time it was possible for his son to be a staunch Buddhist in faith. The fact that he appointed certain Brahmins to protect certain lands has nothing to do with his faith in religion. As for the *Parswanatha* image and incription, Gopinatha Rao who discovered them observed that one cannot be sure of the identity of the donor *Varaguna* mentioned there.[26] Even if the person happens to be the same as the *Ay* king of that name, it only shows *Varaguna's* leanings towards the non-vedic religions in the place of the Vedic religion of his father *Karunandatakkan*. He might have been a disciple of the Jain ascetics for some time before he came to the throne. However his ardent Buddhist faith in the 15th year of his reign

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is clear not only from the grant of land to the Buddhist vihara, but also from the whole tenor and tone of the plates.

This is not a mere conventional grant. The donor has deliberately gone out of the way to incorporate into it a declaration of his faith and advice to the people. He has transformed it into a sort of personal manifesto. After the first side of the first plate consisting of 10 lines in Tamil language enumerating the plots of land given away, the first three slokas in Sanskrit out of thirteen which follow refer to the creed of Buddhism. The first sloka invokes the blessing of *Soudhodani* (Buddha). He is described as being full of happiness, like the *Kalpaka* tree, like the sun that sheds the rays of Dharma, and like the mount *Meru* which supports the three worlds. He gives happiness to all who seek refuge at his feet. The second sloka pays tribute to Dharma and Sangha which are described as the two lotus-like eyes of Goddess Earth who is infested with the darkness of evil minds. The third sloka invokes the blessings of *Avalokiteswara,* the infinite source of *Karuna* or divine grace.

These three slokas are not the only evidence of *Varaguna's* loyalty towards and knowledge about the Buddhist religion. They certainly proclaim his doctrines and the reference to *Avaloikiteswara* shows that he was a follower of *Mahayana.*[27] However they do not exhaust his religious fervour. The last sloka of the plates is a general exhortation to all mankind stressing the fugitive character of life and urging people to hasten to perform meritorious deeds. By trying to read political meanings into it, Prof. Elamkulam has missed its true significance. The philosopher and the moralist in the royal donor come out at this juncture. There is a touch of Asoka in his preaching tone. He wants the people to follow his example in making donations to the Buddhist centre. This lends additional charm to this intensely personal document of which the main trend is philosophical, rather than political as Prof. Elamkulam has imagined.

In addition to the wrong date and the wrong interpretation of the message of the document, Prof. Elamkulam's paper contains another hypothesis regarding *Varaguna.* He imagines that probably *Varaguna* distributed his territory among various temples and retired

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from political life.[28] This is clearly untenable since we find an inscription of *Varaguna* dated in the 28th year of his reign which according to the calculation mentioned above must belong to A. D. 912.[29] Therefore it is clear that *Varaguna* continued to rule atleast upto that year. Two years before this, in A. D. 910, or even earlier, the *Cola* king *Parantaka* had captured the *Pandya* capital *Madura*.[30] It is likely that the *Ays* were thus liberated from the *Pandyan* yoke. Whether they continued as independent rulers or became the vassals of the Colas or Ceras cannot be ascertained from existing sources of information.

To sum up this discussion, we have established that both A. D. 868 suggested by Gopinatha Rao and A. D. 925 suggested by Prof. Elamkulam as the date of the *Paliyam* plates have to be rejected in favour of another date—A. D. 898—which satisfies the astronomical conditions and other epigraphic evidence. Incidentally we have been able to discover that A. D. 884 was the starting point of *Varuguna's* reign and that the last years of his reign coincided with the *Cola* conquest of *Pandyadesa*. We have also found that *Varaguna* was an ardent Buddhist who actively propagated his faith among the people. His testament proves indirectly that the *Cera* king had extended his patronage to *Srimulavasa vihara* and taken steps to protect its properties through the appointment of a prince. This is especially important since there is a general impression among historians that Buddhism and Jainism had almost become extinct in South India by the close of the 9th century. The fact that they survived in some pockets with great vigour in spite of the thrust of the Bhakti movement, and continued to claim royal recruits from some of the minor dynasties, reveals the nature of its hold on the people.

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III

KUNAVAYIR KOTTAM AND CILAPPATIKARAM

THE *patikam* in *Cilappatikaram*, the ancient Tamil classic said to have been composed by *Ilamko Atikal*, the younger brother of *Ceran Cenkuttuvan*, states that the royal bard had taken up residence at *Kunavayir Kottam* after his renunciation.[1] The old commentator *Atiyarkkunallar* designates *Kunavayir Kottam* as *Tirukkunavayil*. Following this a number of scholars have identified *Kunavayir Kottam* or *Tirukkunavayil* as *Trikkanamatilakam* also known as *Kunavay*, 5 miles to the north of *Kodungallur* (Cranganore) in central Kerala.[2] The pronounced Jain bent of mind exhibited by the author of *Cilappatikaram* would suggest that this place must have been a Jain monastic centre, though there was, till recently, no other evidence regarding an old Jain centre in the place. Against this background it is interesting to examine epigraphic and literary evidence which, when put together, would clearly establish the existence of a Jain temple at *Tirukkunavay* which had been the model of other Jain temples of Kerala in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries of the Christian era. It is intended here to bring out such evidence and discuss its implications for the date of *Cilappatikaram*, leaving it to literary scholars to decide how far this information could be reconciled with other forms of internal evidence.

A *Vatteluttu* inscription comes from *Tiruvannur*, within Calicut city limits, mentioning *Tirukkunavay* as the model for

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Tiruvannur temple.[3] The script may be assigned to the 11th century on the basis of a comparative study of *Cera* incriptions. The language used is Old Malayalam, found in all *Cera* inscriptions of this age, which closely resembles Tamil but shows characteristic new features.

The temple of *Tirumannur Bhatarar* in question must be the same as the big Siva temple now found in that place or its predecessor there. However no *Ur* (assembly) or *Paritai* (temple committee) figures in this document as in the case of Hindu temple records of Kerala belonging to the same age. Besides, the Hindu temple records of Kerala in this period quote either the rules and regulations obtaining in some neighbouring temple or the rules and regulations obtaining in *Tirumulikkalam* temple situated near the *Cera* capital of *Makotai (Kodungallur)* as the model or precedent to be followed. This practice was followed both in Vaishnavite and Saivite temples. The present inscription on the other hand cites the temple of *Tirukkunavay* as model in two places. Therefore such interesting departure from the general practice would suggest that it was different from the ordinary Hindu shrine. The possibility of its being a Buddhist or Jain temple is revealed here. The reference to *Brahmaswam* or Brahmin property is possible in the case of Jain temples also.

The nature of *Tirukkunavay* temple is clarified by some new finds made by the Department of Archaeology of the Kerala State. The Government of India Epigraphists had noticed in 1908 a *Vatteluttu* inscription at *Kavasseri* amsom in *Alathur*, now in Palghat District, Kerala.[4] The state department of Archaeology noticed there in 1960 a ruined Jain temple in the site popularly known as *Cakkyar tottam* or *Kundam* on a hillock known as *Pallikkunru*.[5] They found beams, slabs, pillars etc. scattered in that place. They also collected from the site two beautiful sculptures of *Mahavira* and *Parsvanatha* and these, along with the fragmentary *Vatteluttu* inscription, have been placed in the Trichur Archaeological Museum.

With regard to the fragmentary *Vatteluttu* inscription, the Government of India Epigraphist observes that it may be placed about the 10th century, and gives the following details:[6]

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"Dynasty nil-King nil-Date nil-Language Tamil-Script Vatteluttu".

"States that this is the *sila-lekhai* arranged to be engraved by an assembly of several bodies such as *Narpattennayiravar, Patipadamulam* of *Tirukkanavay-ttevar,* attikosam and *adiganmar* of *Nalanjiyar* and it seems to lay down that the right of collecting levies such as *ulaikkalam* etc from the *Nalanjiyarppalli* and other connected establishments shall not be mortgaged to others".

They have not published this record so far. The fragmentary text has been deciphered and reconstructed by the present writer from a study *in situ* and it may be suggested that *'atikarar'* may be read in place of *'atikanmar'* and *'Valanciyar'* in place of *'Nalanciyar'* in the official version.

From this fragmentary text it may be gathered that the inscription records an agreement by *Nalppattennayiravar* (the Forty eight Thousand), the two *Pattakal* (Bhattar or scholars), the *Adhikarar* of *Tirukkunavay* etc regarding the *Pallikal* (non-Hindu temples) of *Valanciyar* and their property and that those who committed an offence against the agreement shall be deemed as offenders against the deity of *Tirukkunavay.* It is further stated that they shall be considered as having slaughtered cows and committed the five great sins, and that they and their descendents shall be kept out from the lands of the *Pallikkal,* the lands of *Ulaikkalam,* and the *Karanmai.* Though the precise meaning is not clear, the participation of the *Adhikarar* (officers) of *Tirukkunavay* in the agreement and the invocation of the authority of *Tirukkunavay Tevar* in this document of the Jain centre unequivocally prove that *Tirukkunavay,* which formed the model for these *Pallikal,* was also a Jain temple.

Another inscription was discovered recently from the neighbourhood of an ancient Jain *basati* at *Talakkavu* near *Putadi* in Wynad taluk, Cannanore district, Kerala state.[7] This record, which may approximately be assigned to the close of the 9th century on the basis of the early characteristics of *Vatteluttu* script and

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Old Malayalam language employed, is more important than the other two since it not only quotes the authority of *Tirukkunavay* but also employs the era of *Tirukkunavay's* foundation. The Govt. Epigraphist of Kerala reads the date portion as *'nurri aimpattelu'* meaning one hundred and fifty seventh year of the temple.[8] The present writer would like to put it as *'nurru muppattelu'* meaning one hundred and thirty seventh year of the temple. However this difference is negligible. The more important fact is that it places the foundation of *Tirukkunavay* roughly about one and a half centuries before the foundation of the nakaram which is recorded in the inscription. Therefore one is led to place the foundation of *Tirukkunavay* Jain temple somewhere in the middle of the 8th century of the Christian era.

There is another inscription from *Kinalur*, near *Balusseri*, about 18 miles to the north east of Calicut, dated in the 189th year of *Tirukkaliyappatarar*, which gives indirect evidence of the prominence achieved by *Tirukkunavay* in Kerala within about a century after its foundation. Though this record was published long ago its real significance has not yet been recognised. The inscription deals with the institution of rice offering and permanent lamp to the *'Palli'* of *Vijayarageswaram* at *Kunavaynallur*.[9] From the name *'Vijayarageswaram'* it may be inferred that the *Palli* or non-Vedic shrine was established by the *Cera* king *Vijayaraga* who must be attributed to the close of the 9th century.[10] This king is known to have led an expedition through these areas to *Kolathunadu* in the extreme north of Kerala and the foundation of the temple must have taken place at that time.[11] The name of the village *Kunavaynallur* clearly shows its association with *Tirukkunavay* thereby proving the popularity and prestige of the latter at the close of the 9th century. The astronomical details given in the text would help us to fix A. D. 1083 as the date.[12] The shape of *Vatteluttu* script and the language also would suit that period. Therefore the foundation of *Vijayarageswara* at *Kunavaynallur* must be assigned to A. D. 894. The record shows that the *Cera* king *Vijayaraga* was a patron of Jainism and devotee of *Tirukkunavay* situated near his capital *Makotai*.

The 15th century *Manipravala kavya* called *Kokasandesa* which gives a factual account of the coastal route from *Tirupparangode*

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to *Edappalli* mentions this *Tirukkunavay* also. It is interesting to note that the anonymous author refers to it as *'Gunaka'* and *'Kunaka'*, and uses the term *'Matilakam'* meaning fortress which became part of the name *Trikkanamatilakam* and ultimately became the only part of the name to survive.[13] He says that it is a big centre of *'Vaniyar'* or traders a fact which acquires new significance when we remember that Jainism was most popular among the trading communities. Though the chief temple of the place is called the abode of *Purari* or Siva the poet specifically states that *Dwijas* or Brahmins were not allowed to see the Lord of *Kunaka*. From this it is clear that it was not a Hindu temple. Perhaps the Jain deity was confused with Siva by the poet who had no intimate knowledge of this religion.

'Kunavay' is mentioned as an important city in the 14th century poem called *Unniyachi* after the name of its heroine. The poet says that *Marudur* in Wynad, the home town of the heroine, would easily defeat *Kollam, Kodungallur, Kunavay, Valluvappalli, Mangalapuram* and *Dorasamudram*, thereby indicating that the prosperity of *Kunavay* remained undiminished at that time also.[14] In addition to this, *Gunaka's* name is mentioned in *Sukasandesa* and *Bhramarasandesa*, two Sanskrit works of about the same age. Tradition says that *Trikkanamatilakam* temple and town were flourishing under the leadership of two *Nayar* families—*Vadakkedathu Nayar* and *Tekkedathu Nayar*—and that following a boundary dispute between them and the Brahmin *Uralar* of the neighbouring *Irinjalakkuda* village, the Brahmins began the ancient form of satyagraha called *pattini* for the downfall of their enemy and that the ruin was accomplished in forty days.[15] Though this tradition may be genuine the date of the event cannot be fixed with any precision. Since it is known that the Portuguese made use of the ruins of the temple, in the 16th century, it may be inferred that the destruction took place towards the close of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.

Recent archaeological investigations in this region conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India, in which the present writer also participated, brought out portions of a medieval citadel wall and the foundations of an early medieval temple of about the 8th or 9th century. Two *Rajaraja* coins of the 10th century were also recovered

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from this place.[16] In the light of the *Putadi-Talakkavu* inscription this foundation may provisionally be identified as belonging to the old *Tirukkunavay* shrine.

The identification of *Kunavayirkottam* as *Tirukkunavay* and the discovery of the period of its foundation have an important bearing on the date of *Cilappatikaram*. If the Jain centre itself was established only in the 8th century at the earliest, the poem written by an inmate of its monastery could not be of an earlier date. Then it is necessary to question the truth of the statement that the poet was the younger brother of *Ceran Cenkuttuvan* who is described in the text as a contemporary of *Gajabahu*, a second century king of Ceylon. Are we to disbelieve and reject part or whole of the *patikam*? Or, are we to imagine that a scholarly Jain monk of *Tirukkunavay* composed *Cilappatikaram* in the 8th or early 9th century and assumed that in a previous birth he witnessed the consecration of *Kannaki* in the form of *Ilamko Atikal*, the junior prince? It is up to literary pundits to decide, if possible, with the help of more internal evidence.[17] The present evidence at our disposal regarding *Tirukkunavay* only helps us to raise this possibility but not to offer a solution. However it is more natural to think that the formost Jain epic of the South which eulogises an ancient *Cera* king was the creation of a period when *Tirukkunavay*, the foremost Jain temple of Kerala, was enjoying popularity and prestige.

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IV

THE JEWISH COPPER-PLATES OF COCHIN

A professor of the University of California has recently published a lengthy paper on the exploration of the Jewish antiquities of Cochin.[1] In this paper the American author has reproduced the English translation of the text of the Jewish copper-plates prepared by E. Hultzsch as far back as 1894 when the decipherment and interpretation of *Vatteluttu* records in South India had not progressed far, especially in the case of Kerala.[2] The writer's unfamiliarity with the script and the language, as well as his unawareness of the developments in historiography in Kerala in the course of the last eighty years, are borne out by this and his references to the content date and significance of the Jewish document in the text of the paper and the footnotes. This is understandable on the part of a foreigner though it is strange that such a defective paper on an aspect of Kerala history was published in Kerala where much work has already been done to correct such ignorance.[3] When it was first published in 1966 the present writer corresponded with the American Jewish historian pointing out the need to make his references up to date and he wrote back admitting that he had no access to the *Travancore Archaeological Series* and other materials referred to by me. How he happened to send the paper again without these references to another journal in Kerala after two years remains a puzzle. However, as the copper-plates are of considerable importance both in Kerala history and in the history of Jewish settlements in

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India, it is necessary to bring out certain facts which are relevant to the discussion and which may be useful to the scholarly world at large.

The American author states at the outset that he is "not concerned with a philological investigation of the text and content of this inscription and with the unsolved and controversial question of its exact date".[4] The fact is that the question of its exact date is no longer unsolved and controversial. Moreover, contrary to this earlier assertion, the concluding section of the paper entitled 'The Final Phase' deals with what the author himself refers to as 'the final stage in the 19th century when a galaxy of scholars and experts of great repute made the copper-plate inscriptions of Cochin the object of sound philological examination'. He refers to the work of H. Gundert, F. W. Ellis, A. C. Burnell, and E. Hultzsch and writes:

> "In 1894, E. Hultzsch published a new and probably final translation of the copper-plate inscription based on the research done by Gundert, Ellis, and others with his own additional explanation and corrections, a text which has served ever since as a basis for works of a general nature on India during the twentieth century. All subsequent publications on the Cochin Jews have made use of the result achieved by these scholars and have copied the text of the inscription as achieved by Hultzsch and his predecessors".[5]

This makes it clear that the author is ignorant of developments after Hultzsch in this field, and what he refers to as 'all subsequent publications on the Cochin Jews' means only the writings of Western scholars who were equally in the dark regarding further studies which took place in India. Therefore it is only proper that a brief review of this important work is presented here. New light has been thrown on the copper-plates from different angles. The discovery of several ancient *Vatteluttu* inscriptions from Kerala, both in stone and copper, including several inscriptions mentioning the regnal years of *Bhaskara Ravi* the donor of the Jewish plates, resulted in (a) improved decipherment of the script (b) correct interpretation of the language (c) accurate dating and (d) realistic appreciation of the context and significance of the grant of privileges.

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Gopinatha Rao's Contribution: The discovery of a single copper-plate dated in the 43rd regnal year of *Bhaskara Ravi* from *Tirunelli* by L. A. Cammiade[6] appeared at first to have solved the problem of date. According to T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology in Travancore, "it contained a complete set of astronomical details which made the calculation of its equivalent and verification possible"—such details as the weekday, the solar month and date, the asterism and the position of Jupiter.[7] This calculation was made by Swamikannu Pillai and A. D. 978 was found to be the initial year of the reign of *Bhaskara Ravi Varman.*[8] Thus A. D. 1016 could be fixed as the 38th year of the king when he issued the Jewish copper-plates. However, the discovery of thirteen other inscriptions of *Bhaskara Ravi* from differnt parts of Travancore and Cochin altered the situation completely. The disagreement in the statement of the Jupiter position forced Swamikannu Pillai to postulate two kings bearing this name.[9] Again, one of the new *Bhaskara Ravi* inscriptions from *Perunna* dated in the 14th regnal year gave a set of astronomical details enabling exact calculation as before.[10] This worked out to A. D. 1060.[11] Swamikannu Pillai tried to suggest alternative dates and a table of reconciliation but it was not at all satisfactory.[12] He hoped that 'palaeography should be able to throw some light on this point' but, as Gopinatha Rao rightly pointed out at the time, 'palaeography unfortunately does not throw any light whatsoever, all the documents noticed hitherto being written in the same kind of *Vatteluttu,* practically of the same period'. For want of sufficient materials he justly decided that the question "must remain open until fresh evidences are obtained".[13]

Though this attempt to fix the date of *Bhaskara Ravi* and solve the mystery of the two series of *Bhaskara Ravi* records proved abortive for the time being, certain facts were already established beyond question. Gopinatha Rao himself published the Syrian copper-plates of *Sthanu Ravi* belonging to the 9th century.[14] Comparative study of the palaeographic and linguistic evidence in the records of *Sthanu Ravi* and *Bhaskara Ravi* could now make it clear that the latter flourished after the 9th century. Moreover the dated *Kaviyur* inscription of *Kali* year 4051 (A. D. 950)[15] and the *Mamballi* copper-plates of M. E. 149 (A. D. 974)[16] published earlier also confirmed the late 10th century dating of the Jewish plates and other

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Bhaskara Ravi records through the affinity of script and language. Apart from this, the status of *Bhaskara Ravi* as "the suzerain lord of the *Malainadu*" with a number of chieftains as his vassals emerged all the more definitely from the distribution of the stone and copper inscriptions all over Kerala.[17]

Ramanatha Ayyar's Triple Synchronism: It was the name of one of these vassal chieftains, i. e. *Govarthana Marthanda,* Governor of *Venadu,* that eventually supplied a useful clue regarding the exact date. More and more *Bhaskara Ravi* inscriptions were coming out and a *Bhaskara Ravi* inscription from *Trikkadithanam,* referring to *Govarthana Marthanda,* Governor of *Venadu,* was among these. This one, in which the year portion is missing, refers to the period when *Govarthana Marthanda,* Governor of *Venadu,* was ruling over *Nanrulainadu* also, and registers a decision to the effect that the *Uttiram* festival instituted in the temple by *Srivallavan Kota* of *Venadu,* shall be conducted as before.[18] This document has to be attributed to the 14th year of the king or some year after that as another inscription showed that *Govarthana Marthanda's* appointment in the province took place in the 14th year of the sovereign.[19]

It was also established by this new record that *Govarthana Marthanda,* one of the witnesses in the Jewish plates of the 38th year, had succeeded *Srivallavan Kota* as the governor of *Venadu* province. The *Mamballi* copper-plates, published earlier, had already provided one date in the life-time of *Srivallavan Kota,* i. e. 149 M. E. (A. D. 974) and therefore these events could be placed only after that date, though not far away from that date. Ramanatha Ayyar pointed out the significance of the "interesting triple synchronism" of the 10th century that the record had established, namely the contemporaneity of *Bhaskara Ravi, Sri Vallavan Kota* and *Govarthana Marthanda.* As he suggested, it silenced once for all the attempts to take *Bhaskara Ravi,* the overlord of *Govarthana Marthanda* and the donor of the Jewish plates, to an earlier period.[20] Thus the century of *Bhaskara Ravi* and the Jewish plates came to be settled beyond question.

Prof. Elamkulam's New Scheme: Though this brought the problem of the exact date nearer to solution, there was some thing more to be done. The next step was taken by Prof. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai. He isolated the *Bhaskara Ravi* inscriptions in

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which *Govarthana Marthanda,* Governor of *Venadu,* figured. He observed that the *Perunna* inscription which Swamikannu Pillai attributed to A. D. 1060 on the basis of astronomical data contained a reference to *Govarthana Marthanda,* Governor of *Venadu* and *Nanrulainadu* provinces. Therefore he rightly decided that this must be taken into account for deciding the date of the donor of the Jewish copper-plates. He observed further that *Bhaskara Ravi* inscriptions of this series went up to the 58th year and that, for historical reasons, the 14th year of this series could not be A. D. 1060 as Swamikannu Pillai had calculated. If the 14th year coincided with A. D. 1060, the 58th year would coincide with A. D. 1104, but Prof. Elamkulam demonstrated that it was impossible for *Bhaskara Ravi* to have gone beyond A. D. 1089 when *Rama Varma Kulasekhara* came to the throne.[21] Thus the discovery of the dated records of *Rama Varma Kulasekhara* had invalidated Swamikannu Pillai's findings in connection with the date of *Bhaskara Ravi,* the donor of the Jewish plates. Therefore Prof. Elamkulam took up afresh calculation of the date of the *Perunna* inscription on the basis of the astronomical data provided there. He was able to establish that the 12th of March, 976 A. D. (21st of Minam, 151 M. E.) suited the *Perunna* inscription. This gives us the year A. D. 962 as the starting point of the reign of *Bhaskara Ravi* who was the overlord of *Govarthana Marthanda,* Governor of *Venadu* and *Nanrulainadu* provinces. Accordingly he was called *Bhaskara Ravi* I, and the other king of this name who started in A. D. 979 was called *Bhaskara Ravi* II by Prof. Pillai. He observed that the latter continued to remain the crown prince almost throughout his life.

The steps in this argument are foolproof and the conclusions agree with the other known facts brought out by *Cera* and *Cola* inscriptions. The reliability of astronomical data found in South Indian epigraphy has been proved again and again. Palaeographic and linguistic evidence go to support the new scheme put forward by Professor Pillai according to which A. D. 1000 would be the 38th year of *Bhaskara Ravi* I, or *Bhaskara Ravi* Senior, who was the overlord af *Govarthana Marthanda* and the donor of the Jewish plates.

Recent Findings: Additional confirmation of the correctness of Prof. Elamkulam's date for *Bhaskara Ravi* of the *Perunna* inscription of the 14th year has come out recently from another source examined

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by the present writer. It was found that the government epigraphists of Madras, and following them scholars like Prof. K. A. N. Sastri and Prof. Elamkulam, had attributed an inscription from *Eramam* near *Cannanore* to the 59th year of *Kandan Kari Varman*, but that it really belonged to the 58th year of *Bhaskara Ravi Varman*.[22] The length of the reign proves that it belonged to *Bhaskara Ravi* of the *Perunna* inscription who was also the overlord of *Govarthana Marthanda* since a record of the 58th year from *Trikkakara* belongs to him as indicated by the position of Jupiter.[23] This *Eramam* inscription contains a reference to *'Rajendra Cola samaya senapati'*, indicating that it came in the wake of *Rajendra Cola's* invasion of Kerala, which is placed in A. D. 1018 on the basis of epigraphic evidence.[24] When we take A. D. 962 as the starting point of *Bhaskara Ravi's* reign, we have A. D. 1020 as the year of the *Eramam* inscription of the 58th year, and this agrees well with the reference to the *Cola* official of *Rajendra Cola*. Therefore this new *Bhaskara Ravi-Rajendra Cola* synchronism proves that the date of the *Perunna* inscription of the 14th regnal year is not A. D. 1060 as suggested by Swamikannu Pillai but A. D. 976 as suggested by Prof. Elamkulam Kunhan Pillai.

The discovery of the dates of *Bhaskara Ravi* I (962 A. D. — 1020 A. D.) and the Jewish copper-plates (1000 A. D.) incidentally throws new light on the context and significance of the grant also. It is now evident that privileges were granted to the Jewish merchant at the time when the *Cera* kingdom was threatened by the invasion of *Rajaraja Cola*. This leads to the inference that the witnesses to the grant, including the commander of the eastern forces and the governors of provinces, formed the war council of the *Cera* sovereign. It also prompts us to envisage a connection between the imminent threat of war and the grant of privileges to the merchant prince. Ancient Hindu books on political science prescribe a policy of placating wealthy men with titles and privileges in return for donations.[25] In accordance with this policy, *Bhaskara Ravi* seems to have bestowed these titles and privileges on the Jew in view of help in the form of money and materials for the prosecution of the war of resistance.[26]

Corrections in The Text: Let us now come to the text of the Jewish copper-plates. The photo-copy reproduced in *Charithram*

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along with the paper under discussion is quite clear and readable. However, the second side of the first plate, shown in the middle, is placed upside down, probably due to the author's or the editor's unfamiliarity with the script and language. The photo clearly shows the inadequacy of the accompanying translation, made by the great pioneer epigraphist, and proves the marked superiority of Prof. Elamkulam's version. Therefore a fresh English translation may be provided here for convenience:

> "Hail Prosperity. This is the gift that His Majesty, King of Kings, *Sri Bhaskara Ravi Varman,* who is to wield sceptre for several thousand years, was pleased to make during the thirty sixth year opposite to the second year of his reign, on the day when he was pleased to reside at *Muyirikode.*
>
> "We have granted to *Joseph Rabban,* the *Ancuvannam,* tolls by the boat and by other vehicles *Ancuvannam* dues, the right to employ day lamp, decorative cloth, palanquin, umbrella, kettledrum, trumpet, gateway, arch, arched roof, weapons and the rest of the seventy two privileges. We have remitted customs dues and weighing fee.
>
> "Moreover, according to this copper-plate grant, he shall be exempted from payments due to the king from settlers in the town, but he shall enjoy what they enjoy.
>
> "To *Joseph Rabban,* proprietor of the *Ancuvannam,* his male and female issues, nephews, and sons-in-law, *Ancuvannam* shall belong by hereditary succession as long as the sun and moon endure-Prosperity!"

It will be noticed that the old Hultzsch translation puts 'places' instead of 'years' in the opening sentence. The pioneer had also taken *Ancuvannam* for a 'village' whereas it is clear from the subsequent passage that the term stands for a corporation or guild within the *'nakaram'* meaning town or trade centre. What he explained as female elephant *(piti)* has rightly been corrected as boat *(veti)* by Prof. Elamkulam Kunhan Pillai. What was understood

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as 'garland' *(caram)* really means 'weapon' as pointed out by the same authority before.

The last part of the text which gives the names of signatories and the scribe has been left out by the author of the paper in *Charithram* cited above. This part is important as it gives us the clue for the date and an idea of the nature of the Council which was meeting at the capital. It may be translated as follows:

"This is attested by *Govarthana Marthandan,* Governor of *Venadu*
"This is attested by *Kota Cirikantan,* Governor of *Vempalinadu*
"This is attested by *Manavepala Manaviyan,* Governor of *Eralanadu*
"This is attested by *Rayiran Chathan,* Governor of *Valluvanadu*
"This is attested by *Kota Ravi,* Governor of *Nedumpurayurnadu*
"This is attested by *Murkan Chathan,* Commander of the Eastern forces

"This writing is executed by *Vanralacheri Kandan Kunrappolan,* the officer who takes down oral messages."

Conclusion: To sum up, Indian researchers in the 20th century have done a good job with the Jewish copper-plates of Cochin which roused the curiosity of the Western scholars in the previous centuries and remained a puzzle to them. The date, meaning, and purpose of the grant are not riddles any more. On the other hand, the period of *Bhaskara Ravi,* sovereign of *Malainadu* and the donor of the Jewish plates, has become one of the most illumined periods in the early history of Kerala, thanks to the work of Gopinatha Rao, Swamikannu Pillai, Subrahmania Ayyar, and Prof. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai who continued the work of Gundert, Ellis, Burnell, and Hultzsch with ability and distinction.[27] It is hoped that the present survey of the work on the Jewish copper-plates by Indian scholars in the current century has demonstrated how these people have paid a glowing tribute to their Western preceptors in the field by correcting their mistakes and carrying forward their line of investigation.

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V

MAR SAPIR ISO, FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH OF TARSA

THE advent of Christianity in Kerala belongs to the realm of legends and traditions rather than history proper. The legend St. Thomas the Apostle, like the legend of *Parasurama* cherished by the Hindus, may contain a kernal af truth, but from the point of view of academic history it is better that the question is kept open until we are able to gain further evidence.[1] There are some old Persian crosses with Pahlavi labels, discovered from different parts of Kerala, which have to be attributed to the 7th–8th centuries of the Christian era. These may be called the oldest relics of Christianity in Kerala.[2] There are also the Latin translations of certain lost copper-plates, kept in the Vatican, and these may be placed in the same period as the crosses.[3] At any rate it is clear that by the time the *Ceras* of *Makotai* came to the stage at the beginning of the 9th century, Christians were wellknown to the people of the region. The famous Kottayam Syrian Christian copper-plates, also known as *Tarsappalli* copper-plates, establish this fact beyond question. They offer the first precisely dated evidence of Christianity in Kerala. There have been several good studies of the records earlier, and they have settled the problems of date, decipherment, and meaning of the copper plates as far as they can reasonably be settled.[4] The present attempt is to analyse the character of the rights and privileges granted by *Ayyan Atikal*, Governor of *Venad*, to *Mar Sapir Iso* and his *Tarsappalli* so as to bring out the details

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of the policy adopted by the Kerala princes towards the Syrian Christians of the period.

The first set of plates was issued in the 5th regnal year of *Sthanu Ravi* corresponding to 849 A. D.[5] An earlier grant made to *Mar Sapir Iso* is alluded to in one place.[6] A passage in the second set of copper-plates helps us to fix the date of this first concession. *Mar Sapir Iso* is described there as the founder of the Nagaram, evidently the mercantile corporation of Kollam.[7] When kings or chieftains founded a new township the usual practice was to invite some traders and skilled workers, and by giving them attractive terms and special privileges, induce them to settle down in the new place.[8] It is known that Kollam city was founded in 825 A. D. since an era in which years were mentioned as "the year — after the foundation of Kollam" prevailed in the area and was later on adopted all over Kerala under the name of the Kollam era.[9]

If Kollam city was founded in 825 A. D. *Mar Sapir Iso*, the Syrian merchant, must have been invited to settle down there on that occasion. This is confirmed by the Syrian tradition that *Mar Sapir Iso*, the Syrian Christian missionary, arrived at *Kodungallur* (the capital of *Cera*) in 823 A. D.[10] It is not surprising that the *Cera* king who was contemplating the development of a new harbour town at *Kurakkeni Kollam* welcomed the foreigner and granted his petition permitting him to settle down at the new harbour site. This was the period when the *Cera-Pandya* conflict was developing in the south. The *Pandyas* had invaded the *Ay-Vel* country and captured the *Vel* king along with his relatives and treasures. The *Cera* army had moved into the south in reply to this and it was involved in military action in the vicinity of the *Ay* headquarters uf *Vilinjam* for some time. Subsequent developments prove that the *Ay* country with its old headquarters in *Vilinjam* was retained within the *Pandyan* sphere of influence while the *Vel* Country with its new headquarters at *Kurakkeni Kollam* became a division of the *Cera* kingdom.[11] The foundation of Kollam in 825 A. D. must have co-incided with this victory of the *Cera* in the *Vel* province. Therefore it is easy to understand the anxiety of the *Cera* king to please foreign merchants with concessions and settle them at Kollam so that the harbour might grow quickly and compete effectively with *Vilinjam* further south which had passed under the control of the *Pandya*. Thus the

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Cera king and his vassals, with their eyes fixed on commercial prosperity, and their hearts immersed in rivalry with the *Pandya* neighbours, readily welcomed the Syrian merchants extending tolerance and even patronage to their alien religion. This incident reveals the practical wisdom of the rulers and throws light on the economic-political motivations of men which promoted the spread of ideas, religion, and culture.

The Syrian Christian merchants who took advantage of the situation were equally clever and resourceful. They realised that the promise of another life after death will not be honoured in a strange country unless it was backed by the wealth and power of people who occupied a high station in this life. They knew that the best opportunity for foreigners in this country lay in the field of sea-trade as the Brahminical Hindus were by temperament allergic to the sea and left such 'vulgar' professions either to the lower castes or to the foreigners.[12] Kerala and the products of her mountains were well-known to West Asians from the days of king Solomon.[13] The discovery of the 'Hippalus wind' by Greek sailors had popularised commodities like pepper, cardamom, zingiber, sandalwood, peacocks, monkeys, ivory etc. in the Greeko-Roman world also.[14] The demand for Kerala goods must have revived with the rise of an Islamic civilization in West Asia. Incidentally some of the witnesses in the Syrian Christian charter have signed in Kufic, or old Arabian, script and their names would suggest that they were Arabs and probably Muslims also.[15] Trade was mutually beneficial to the Syrian settlers and their Kerala hosts and trade contacts naturally facilitated the study of languages and customs and the development of mutual confidence which could prepare the ground for missionary work.

In the absence of materials for a detailed history, it is difficult to ascertain whether *Mar Sapir Iso* was primarily a merchant or a missionary. Perhaps he was both at the same time and there was no inherent contradiction between the two roles. The first set of plates mentions the fact that *Mar Sapir Iso* established the church of *Tarsa (Tarsappalli)* at *Kurakkeni Kollam*.[16] In fact the copper-plate grant is the record of the gift of a few families of settlers —*Ilavar* and *Vannar*—by *Ayyan Atikal*, Governor of *Venad*, to the church of *Tarsa* at the instance of *Mar Sapir Iso*. The second

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set of plates, of which the opening part is lost, contains a further grant by the same authority to the same church at the instance of the same person. This was probably made at a slightly later date. A plot of land and a few families of settlers—*Tachar* and *Vellalar*—are handed over to the church this time. The three grants—the first grant of 825 A. D. is lost to us—issued at different dates reveal that over the period of a quarter of a century *Mar Sapir Iso* and the church prospered steadily earning the goodwill of the rulers and the people.

The *Ilavar* settled on church land were toddy-tappers as *talaikkanam* and *enikkanam*—fetter fee and ladder fee—are mentioned in connection with them.[17] Their right to bring the wagon to the bazaar and the fort is also mentioned.[18] The *Vannans* were probably carrying on the traditional occupation of washermen. They also practised the tailor's art and their womenfolk were midwives in the rural society.[19] *Tachar* were carpenters and *Vellalar* were cultivators of the soil. Probably the opening part of the second charter also contained a reference to *Vaniyar*—oil mongers—as the subsequent passage mentions the supply of oil for the use of the church.[20] The *Vellalar* must have cultivated paddy in the compound, and the *Vaniyar, Vannar,* and *Tachar* must have supplied the skilled labour in the respective fields to the churchmen. Under the feudal system, the services of skilled labourers could not readily be bought for cash, and the practice was to settle such people permanently on the lands of chieftains or corporations so that they were always available. This encouraged a hereditary system in industry and trade resulting in several sub-castes.

It is interesting to note that the same method of handing over families to foreign settlers continued in Kerala in the later periods also. We have a parallel in the *Paliyam* copper-plates of 1663 A. D. where several families are settled on land belonging to the Dutch East India Company at Cochin and the Dutch authorities are permitted by the rulers of Cochin to use them as they liked.[21] The Company exercised the ruler's powers of sovereignty over these people. In the case of the Syrian church of Kollam also, it was, according to the feudal principle, proprietor of land and master of the settlers on land. The first set of plates clearly states that the governor had relinquished all rights to collect taxes from these settlers on church-

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land.[22] At the same time the settlers enjoyed the privilege of plying their trade in the bazaar and the fort unmolested by the officers of the state.[23] The governor also authorised the church to exercise judicial powers in respect of the settlers.[24] In short revenue and judicial authority, the essential attributes of government, were passed on to the church. The same thing is repeated in respect of the new settlers in the later grant also.[25] It is specifically stated here that the church was to exercise judicial power over the settlers and also to collect birth tax and marriage tax from them.[26] The servants of the governor are explicitly prohibited from interfering with the work of the settlers or entering their residence.[27] Besides, the *Arunurruvar* and *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* are entrusted the protection of the church and its land.[28] The *Arunurruvar* were the organisation of 'The Six Hundred' forming the standing army of the governor.[29] The present writer feels that, in spite of all the later criticism, the original suggestion of Dr. Gundert that the *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* were corporations of the Jews and Christians respectively, stands vindicated by all the additional sources of evidence.[30]

Noteworthy are the different concessions given to the church, and the association of the church in governmental functions in Kollam along with the two mercantile corporations. These furnish an idea as to the organisation and activities of the church outside the field of religion and the status that the churchmen commanded. First, they are exempted from the one-sixtieth duty on incoming articles and articles on sale.[31] This concession proves that the church was also engaged in trade. This is not surprising in a country where temples were engaged in banking and agricultural operations and were patronising courtesans too.[32] The church is exempted from the payment of slave-tax for the slaves they purchased.[33] This goes to show that slave-trade and slave-labour were quite common in ancient Kerala. The Hindu temples are known to have been owning and transferring *Pulaya* serfs along with land, indicating that serfdom also must have been very common.[34]

Again the amount of tax payable by the church per wagonload or boatload of commodities finds a place here.[35] However, since the original amount is not known, the degree of concession cannot be

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calculated. There follows the stipulation that when market commodities are inspected for fixing the customs duty, and when other official work like estimating the price etc. are undertaken, the church people shall be associated with all such activities.[36] This means that the church is treated as an important institution of the district head-quarters, sharing the powers of government on a par with *Arunurruvar, Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam*. The two corporations mentioned last were to put the duty, paid in kind, under seal probably because they possessed big godowns and were trusted by the government.[37] They were also to enjoy the one-tenth share of the *Pati* (local officer) when the church lands were leased out to tenants.[38]

Then comes the grant of the seventy two privileges to the churchmen.[39] It is explicitly stated that *Vijayaragadeva* the king's representative, *Ayyan Atikal* the governor, *Rama Tiruvatikal* the governor's heir apparent, *Prakriti* (chief citizens), *Adhikarar* (officers), *Arunurruvar* (The Six Hundred), and the *Patis* (local chiefs) of *Punnaittalai* and *Polaikkuti* were present on the occasion of this gift and this in itself conveys its importance. Only the first item of the seventy two privileges i. e. earth and water on elephant-back at the time of marriage, finds mention in the copper-plates, probably because it is taken for granted that everybody knew what the privileges were.[40] The Jewish copper-plates of *Bhaskara Ravi* have mentioned ten items forming part of the seventy two privileges. They were day lamp, spreading cloth, palanquin, umbrella, northern drum, bugle, locked gate, arch, arch-decoration, and arrow, and these can easily be recognised as the special marks of aristocracy in Kerala.[41] Therefore it may be assumed that the rest of the privileges were also belonging to the same category. The church fathers were accorded the status of the military—political chiefs of the country, and evidently they were prepared to accept such a position. Therefore it may be inferred that in the days of *Ayyan Atikal* and *Mar Sapir Iso*, Christianity was Indianised to a large extent. It is also possible that the different families of settlers on church-land, who were subjects of the church in every sense, eventually came under the influence of Christianity and became converts, contributing a cross-section of all castes to the faith. It was from the ranks of traders and craftsmen that non-Vedic religions like Jainism and Buddhism drew their supporters and this might have been the case with Christianity in general, though an occasional

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conversion from the ruling class or priestly class could have given them a lot of new power and prestige.[42]

The final passage in the second set of plates brings out more clearly the relationship between *Mar Sapir Iso*, the church of *Tarsa*, *Ancuvannam*, and *Manikkiramam* against the background of the newly established city of Kollam. If the church felt any grievance they were authorised to take the law into their own hands and obstruct the collection of duty and weighing fee until the grievance was removed.[43] If any of the two corporations were responsible for the grievance, they themselves were to conduct an enquiry and only the joint decision of their two leaders would be valid.[44] It is significant that in this passage *Mar Sapir Iso* is qualified as the founder of the *Nagaram* and the two corporations of *Aucuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* are described as the tenants of the *Nagaram*.[45] The church of *Tarsa* was already mentioned in the first set of plates as being founded by *Mar Sapir Iso*.[46] Therefore it is seen that *Mar Sapir Iso* was the leader of a mercantile organisation and that after taking permission from the rulers to settle down at Kollam he established a trade-centre, invited the *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* to have their branches there, built and endowed the church of *Tarsa*, and step by step rose to the position of a local aristocrat by receiving the confidence and goodwill of the rulers and the people. The church was given the custodianship of weights and measures and permitted to enjoy the weighing fee.[47] These rights were granted earlier and renewed in the first and second sets of copper-plates. This would show the trust that the native rulers placed in the church because these privileges were enjoyed exclusively by the Hindu temple-corporations in the normal course.[48]

The presence of Pahlavi, Kufic, and Hebrew signatures at the end of the second set shows that merchants of different races and nationalities were members of the trade-centre. These three sets of signatures represent the Persian, Arabic and Israelite groups respectively and it is possible that they included Jews, Christians, and even Muslims as indicated by the personal names. This is again proof of the peaceful and harmonious coexistence of the different creeds in ancient Kerala.

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VI

THE ZAMORIN'S GIFT TO MUCCUNTI MOSQUE

A stone inscription found in the *Muccunti* mosque at *Kuttichira* in Kozhikode throws new light on an interesting aspect of the history of the *Zamorins* of Calicut and their patronage of Islam in Kerala. Strangely enough the *Zamorins* who developed Calicut (Kozhikode) as an international harbour in the middle ages, i. e. between 12th and 18th centuries, have not left behind many impressive monuments of their splendour in Kerala. Only a few temples like those in *Tali* at Kozhikode, *Trikkavu* at *Ponani*, and the great *Guruvayur* itself, proclaim to the world the majesty and grandeur of the 'merhant prince' who attracted all the wealth of the world into his market place.[1]

The great palace of the *Zamorins* which is so vividly described by Varthema was reduced to ashes when the last ruling prince, unwilling to accept the shame of surrendering to Hyder Ali of Mysore in 1766 A. D. burnt himself to death by setting fire with his own hand to the powder magazine.[2] Only the name of *Kottapparamba* (the compound of the fortress) for the place, where the hospital for women and children and other buildings are found today, helps to identify the site of the palace. The big palace tank of *Manavikrama* called *Mananchira* now supplies drinking water to

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the modern corporation. There are other place names in the old capital like *Palayam* (cantonment) *Chalapuram* (Vedic college compound) *Mankavu (Manan-kavu* or *Manavikrama's* garden) *Kutiravattam* (stable for horses) and *Kallayi* (stone-paved harbour) but not many relics which are tangible or visible. The streets of the big bazaar and the sweatmeat bazaar in Calicut may still continue to be as narrow as they were in the time of Vasco de Gama but the harbour and the town have changed beyond recognition. There is not much in the form of buildings to remind a modern visitor to Calicut about the medieval splendour of the *Zamorins,* not even a good palace.

Perhaps it is in the fitness of things that along with a few Hindu temples in Calicut—most prominent among them is *Tali* where the *Zamorins* had organised a temple-academy with its famous competitions, called *Revati Pattattanam*[3]—a few old mosques have also come down to us from the hey-day of the *Zamorin* who was known to the West as a Moorish prince. According to *Keralolpathi* legend the last *Perumal* who embraced Islam and left for Mecca had presented the royal sword to *Manavikrama,* prince of *Eranad,* with permission to "conquer by courting death and conferring death."[4] Though *Manavikrama* had distinguished himself in the war of resistance against the foreign overlord, he was late and he received only a small hillock and suburbs—Kozhikode—as reward for his performance. For the rest the *Perumal* gave him the sword and the slogan. Recent researches have proved that these events are to be placed at the beginning of the 12th century, at the close of the rule of the *Cera Perumal Rama Kulasekhara.*[5] The last *Perumal* who gave the sword and the slogan to the Zamorin also sent him later the means to win—a group of people, the Arab Muslims, who provided the physical and financial support to carry out his plans of conquest in central Kerala. The *Keralolpathi* tradition is repeated in different words with more details in the Calicut *Granthawari,* the official court chronicle of the *Zamorins,* also.[6] *Sheikh Zeinuddin's* account of the spread of Islam in Malabar, produced at the beginning of the 16th century, follows the same pattern.[7] Thus all available information go to show that Islam, like Judaism and Syrian Christianity in earlier centuries, came into Kerala not like a conqueror but as an honoured guest in the house.

The erstwhile governors of the *Ernad* district of the *Cera*

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kingdom moved into Kozhikode and they must have found the outlet into the sea more advantageous from the point of view of military achievements and trade. They received the Arab Muslims with open hands and, according to the local tradition, even encouraged the coastal fishermen folk to take to Islam so that he may have trained *Marikkars*—navigators—to man the ships. These formed the sub-division called the *Pudu-Islam* (New Islam) in central Kerala. Some of the *Marikkars* of the *Zamorin,* like the *Kunhali Marikkars* of *Kottakkal,* had their ships plying from Egypt to China and became so famous that for generations they roused terror in the hearts of the Portuguese.[8]

The *Zamorin's* old palace, and all the documents of its famous record office where the *Menons* kept copies of all royal orders and grants, were destroyed in the holocaust which put an end to this ancient kingdom in 1766 A. D[9]. Says Prof. K. V. Krishna Ayyar, the historian of the *Zamorins* of Calicut: "The earliest date furnished by indigenous literary sources is 1427; the earliest event of which we have a full and authentic record, though from foreign sources, is the coming of Vasco de Gama. For the period prior to this epoch-making event in world history, we have, except for the accounts of *Ibn Batuta, Abdur Razaak* and *Ma Huan,* to rely solely upon traditions."[10] There are not many stone inscriptions or copper-plates of the *Zamarins.* The only stone inscription so far known is found in the *Guruvayur* temple.[11]

The *Muccunti* mosque inscription which forms the subject of the present study was noticed in the *Malabar Manual* but it was not deciphered and published. Probably it was neglected because it was reported to be in Canarase and in a damaged condition.[12] In fact it is not in Canarese script or language. It is a bilingual record partly in *Vatteluttu* script, of about the 13th century, and early Malayalam language. There is also an Arabic writing by the side which the local Arab scholars deciphered as containing a series of Muslim personal names, passages of prayer, and signatures.[13] Contrary to usual practice in Kerala, all the small letters–both *Vatteluttu* in the left half and Arabic in the right half of the granite slab fixed to the left of entrance in the prayer hall—are embossed and not engraved. Being very small they are difficult for decipherment, but not only

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are they not damaged but are found in a very good state of preservation.[14]

Since the history of the Calicut kingdom before 1498 A. D., the year of Gama's arrival in Malabar, still suffers from the paucity of contemporary and authentic records, this inscription of c. 13th century is an invaluable tool to the student of history. After three days of labour it was possible for me and my friend M. R. Raghava Varier to decipher some portions of it and perhaps more work on the stone may be rewarding in future.[15] The *Vatteluttu* text as far as it could be deciphered and reconstructed throws light on certain problems of history and linguistics.[16]

It does not open with 'Sri' or 'Swasti Sri' as in the case of the *Cera* inscriptions of an earlier age. The king of Calicut is mentioned by his dynastic title *'Punturakkon'* but there is no reference to his personal name or date. The king's officer called *'Kettuviliyan'* is also appearing for the first time in the records of Kerala. All these go to show that the record belongs to the post-*Cera* period when old *Cera* conventions regarding the form and style of royal orders had changed completely. The forms of letters also indicate the post-*Cera* period. This grant registers an order of the *'Punturakkon'* conveyed through his officer in charge of oral commandments. Accordingly the king granted daily allowance of one *Nali* of rice to the *Mucciyan* mosque. From the rest of the portion it may be gathered that certain lands in *Kunnamangalam* and *Pulikkil* were set apart for this purpose.

The mosque in which the inscription is found is now known as *'Muccunti Palli'* or *Muccunti* mosque. Perhaps the name is a corruption of *'Mucciyanre palli'* meaning the mosque founded by a person called *'Mucciyan'*. The term *'Mucciyan'* itself appears to have contracted into *'Muccin'* in course of time. There is an old aristocratic Muslim house called *'Muccinrakam'* or 'the house of *Muccin*' close to the mosque. A *Jarum* or burial monument is also found there. It is likely that a certain Arab merchant prince called *'Mucciyan'* came and settled down here and built a mosque which was endowed with landed property by the *Zamorin* also. This record is unique not only because it is one of the rare stone inscriptions of the *Zamorin*, but also because it registers a permanent grant of property by the Hindu monarch to the Muslim place of

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worship in his capital. It has other peculiarities like its bilingual character and embossed letters. However, it belongs to the grand tradition of *Cera* king *Sthanu Ravi's* grant to the Christian *Tarsappalli* at Kollam founded by *Mar Sapir Iso* and the *Cera* king *Bhaskara Ravi's* grant to the Jewish *Ancuvannam* at Kodungallur founded by *Joseph Rabban*. It adds one more link to the golden chain of grants expressing the ideal of religious tolerance in Kerala. From the linguistic point of view the use of the phrase *'Konra neettu'* instead of *'Kon utaya neettu'* or *'Kon uteya neettu'* is a significant development which shows the growth of language. Similarly the phrase *'Celavamaccu'* in the place of *'celavamaiccu'* or *celavameccu'* also brings the language nearer to our own period when compared to that of the *Cera* age. On the whole the inscription may be attributed to the 13th century of the Christian era.

The mosque itself might perhaps belong to the same period. It contains wood-work of a highly sophisticated nature with lotus and animal emblems inlaid on doors and beams as well as rafters on top of the structure. All this is reminiscent of medieval Hindu temples of Kerala. The similarity in structure and sculptural patterns between Hindu temples, Christian churches, and Muslim mosques is familiar to the students of Kerala history. Some have interpreted this to mean that Hindu temples were converted into churches and mosques by force. This need not be the case because even though the churches and mosques are built in accordance with their own functional requirements, the details of work often follow the Hindu tradition. It is more probable that when Christians and Muslims built their places of worship under the patronage of Hindu rulers they employed native architects, masons, and carpenters who invariably worked in their own traditional style. In the case of the *Muccunti* mosque and other old mosques of Calicut the buildings represent the typical Hindu temple-complex with pillars, Kerala type ventilators, and even huge tanks in the neighbourhood of the mosque.

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II

1. *T. A. S.* Vol. I. Part XII. pp. 187–93.

2. Elamkulam P. N. K. Pillai, *Cila Kerala Caritra Prasnangal*. Part III. pp. 9–35.

3. *T. A. S.* Op. Cit. p. 187.

4. *T. A. S.* Vol. II. Part II. p. 116.

See also *Mushakavamsa. Sarga.* XII. Verses 96–8. *Sarga.* XIV. Verses 24. Gopinatha Rao also refers to Foucher's discovery of a Buddha image in Gandhara with the legend *"Dakshinapathe Mulavasa Lokanathah"*. See Foucher, *L' Iconographic Bouddhique*. Part A. Part I. p. 105.

5. *Ibid.* p. 123.

6. Elamkulam, *Prasnangal.* Op. Cit. p. 20.

7. Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyyer, *Kerala Sahitya Caritram.* Vol. I. p. 151.

Mr. Iyyer's view is based on his interpretation of the evidence of *Mushakavamsa kavya*. The *Mushaka* prince *Valabha* proceeded to help the Kerala king against the *Cola*. Before he could accomplish his purpose he was forced to return to his country on hearing the news of aggression by foreign forces. In this context

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we have to remember that the *Cera* king had shifted his headquarters to *Kollam* in the South in order to prosecute the *Cola* wars of the 11th century. Therefore it is now clear that *Srimulavasam* was located not between *Kolam* and *Kodungallur* as Mr. Iyyer imagined, but between *Kolam* and *Kollam* as Prof. Elamkulam has rightly suggested in his paper cited above.

8. *T. A. S.* Vol. I. Op. Cit. p. 187. Three slokas in the text of the record give a highly poetical account of the *Vrishnikula*. The term *'Ay'* in Tamil denoted cowherds. The *Ays* of South Travancore claimed to be members of *Yadukula* or *Vrishnikula*. It was common practice among Dravidian South Indian chieftains to adopt such devices to claim kinship with the legendary dynasties of *Aryavarta*. The *Pandyas* were considered to belong to the Lunar Kshatriya race and the *Colas* and *Ceras* to belong to the Solar Kshatriya race.

The epithet *'Vilinjabharta'* of 'Lord of *'Vilinjam'* which occurs in the text also proves beyond doubt that *Varaguna* belonged to the *Ay* dynasty which had its headquarters at *Vilinjam* in South Travancore.

9. *Murukan Cendi*, the daughter of *Tenganattu Kilavan*, is described as *Aykula Mahadevi* or the *Ay* queen in the Huzur office plate of the 8th year of *Varaguna*. See *T. A. S.* I. Part II. pp. 1-3. She was evidently the daughter of *Cathan Murukan* alias *Tenganattu Kilavan* described as one of the officers of *Karunandatakkan* in the Huzur office plates of the latter issued in A. D. 866. See *T. A. S.* I. Part I. pp. 1-14.

10. *Ibid.* Paliyam plates, p. 191

11. *Ibid.* p. 192. *"Swasti Sri Na Godvadasi"*.

12. *Sukladvadasi* ended at 24½ *ghatikas* after mean—sunrise and *Nakshatra Mrigasira* at 43 *ghatikas* after sunrise.

13. Elamkulam, *Prasnangal*. Op. Cit. p. 28.

14. *Ibid.* p. 29. The 6th day of *Makaram*, 74 M. E. corresponding to 28th December, A. D. 898, and the 7th day of *Makaram*, 101 M. E. corresponding to 29th December, A. D. 925. On the

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first of these possible days *Mrigasira* begins after 5 *Nalikas* and 24 *Vinalikas* and *Dvadasi* lasts for 35 *Nalikas* and 48 *Vinalikas*. On the other, *Mrigasira* begins after 7 *Nalikas* and 48 *Vinalikas* and *Dvadasi* lasts for 45 *Nalikas*.

15. *Ibid.* pp. 29–31. The sloka in question says that '*Kritanta*' or the God of Death is roamig about, waiting for his opportunity, and that his father '*Ahnamisa*' or the Lord of Day is quickening his pace and finishing our lives in order to help his son. Therefore the king wants everybody to hasten to perform meritorious deeds. According to Prof. Elamkulam, the king's request to future generations of his family and friends to protect their dynasty and country from ruin, described in the two previous slokas, appears rather strange and must be motivated by the apprehension of some threat to their existence. Therefore this particular sloka must be interpreted as having reference to the contemporary political scene. The present writer finds nothing strange in the donor expressing his family pride and concern for the family's future. What the professor interprets as a request to maintain his kingdom in tact is really an appeal to protect the land grant that he made. These are common features of grants of this type.

16. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 173, 175. We have accepted the revised date of the battle of *Sripurambiyam*. After the defeat in this battle *Varaguna* seems to have lost the zest in life, and turned into a saint, leaving the kingdom to his brother *Vira Narayana*.

17. This title of *Karunandatakkan* is mentioned in his *Parthivapuram* plates which are also known as Huzur office plates. See *T. A. S.* Vol. I. Part I. pp. 1–44.

18. The Huzur office plates mentioned in the previous note say that the day after the 1449087th day of *Kaliyuga* (A. D. 866) fell at the end of the 9th year of his reign.

19. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*. p. 68.

20. *"Sa praptapancatrikayuh"*.

21. *T. A. S.* Vol. I. Part XII. Op. Cit. p. 183.

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22. Elamkulam, *Prasnangal.* III. Op. Cit. p. 28.

23. *T. A. S.* I. XII. Op. Cit. p. 188.

24. Prof. Elamkulam has rightly suggested that *Vira Kota* must be the *Koyil adhikarikal,* an officer who was usually a member of the royal family. However, since we have rejected his date we have to reject his identification of *Vira Kota* with *Indu Kota.* Perhaps *Vira Kota* was the same as *Kota Ravi,* the predecessor of *Indu Kota* on the Kerala throne. It is interesting to note that *Vira Kota* is described as having Lakshmi, enamoured of victory, sleeping on his breast. The term *'Vijayanurakta'* used in connection with Lakshmi reminds us of *Vijayaraga* who must have been the *Cera* king at this time. It is likely that *Vira Kota* was the husband of Lakshmi, daughter of king *Vijayaraga.* However. this is mere conjecture.

25. Elamkulam, *Prasnangal.* III. Op. Cit. pp. 33-4.

26. *T. A. S.* II. Part II. p. 127.

27. The Potiyil hill in *Ay* country is believed to be the seat of *Bodhisatva Avalokiteswara,* the symbol of Karuna. The palace of Dalai Lama in Lassa, Tibet, known as *Potala,* is supposed to be named after this hill. The Tibetans worship *Avalokiteswara* under the name of *Chenreyi* and the palace is called *'Tse Potala'* or *'Peak Potala.'*

28. Elamkulam, *Prasnangal.* Op. Cit. Vol. II. p. 124; Vol. III. p. 32.

29. *Tiruchanathu* Inscription of *Varaguna,* 28th year. *T. A. S.* I. II. pp. 193-5

30. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom.* p. 81.

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III

1. *"Kunavayir kkottattaracu turantirunta Kudakkocceral ilankovatikatku"*

2. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Seran Vanji*. p. 24; T. K. Krishna Menon, *Bulletin of The Rama Varma Research Institute*. VIII. II. 'The Vanci Problem', p. 113; Elamkulam P. N. K. Pillai, *Koka sandesam (Commentary)*. p. 55; Ulloor S. P. Aiyar, *Kerala Sahitya Caritram*. I. pp. 53–4. A. S. Menon, *Kerala State Gazetters, Trichur*, pp. 78–9, 90, 139, 537.

3. No. 220 of 1895. A translation of this inscription, based on the imperfect decipherment of Dr. Gundert, was published by William Logan, *Malabar*. Vol. II (1897) App. XII. pp. CXXII. No. 4. Since then the text has appeared in *South Indian Inscriptions*. Vol. V. (1926) No. 784. p. 338. The whereabouts of the original stone were not known for a long time. The present writer located it in 1960 in the compound of the Collector's Bungalow, Calicut, and it has since been removed to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur. The text given here is prepared *in situ* by the present writer and differs from the official text in one passage. In the last two lines where the official text reads *"akanaliyaiccelavinun akkoyilkanmi pporul kavaravunceyyumuralan"* we read *"akanaliyaiccelavinul pukkuvilakkuvitu porul kavaruvitunceyyumuralan"*.

4. No. 561 of 1908.

5. N. G. Unnithan, *Journal of Indian History*. Vol. XLIV. Part II. "Relics of Jainism-Alatur", pp. 537–43.

6. No. 238 of 1960. See *Aunual Report of Epigraphy* for 1960. The stone is now placed in Trichur Archaeological Museum.

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7. This was discovered in the forest by Sri. K. K. N. Kurup, student in the Department of History, Calicut University. Following a report from the Department of History, the Kerala state Department of Archaeology has taken charge of the stone. The text remains unpublished. The present text is reconstructed by the writer from the eye copy and estampage prepared by Sri. M. R. Raghava Varier from the site.

8. V. T. Induchudan, *The Indian Express*, Saturday 11th July, 1970. "More light on *Tirukunavayir*." p. 6.

9. No. 14 of 1901; *S. I. I.* VII. p. 74. No. 174. The present writer made a thorough search for *Kinalur* temple in *Panangad* amsam in 1961 but it could not be traced. Even as early as 1897 Logan had described it as a "ruined and deserted temple." Logan, *Malabar*. II. App. XXI. p. CCCXXIII. Probably the temple has completely disappeared. Some local persons showed me a compound called '*ambalapparambu*' (temple compound) where according to them the old *Kinalur Siva* temple was located. The granite foundation of an old shrine and the fragment of a granite idol, which cannot be identified, were found there. They had no information regarding the inscribed stones.

The present writer recently examined the estampage taken in 1901 and preserved in the Govt. of India Epigraphist's office, Mysore, with their kind permission. My decipherment of the *Vatteluttu* characters differed slightly from the published version. Where they read "*Kunaviyanallur vicaiyarakiccuvarattu patararku*" the correct reading would be "*Kunavay nallur vicaiyarakiccuvarattu pallikku.*" Other differences are not relevant here.

10. *Vijayaragadeva* is mentioned as *Koyiladhikarikal* or prince in the second set of Kottayam-Tarsappalli copper-plates, the first set of which was issued in the 5th year of *Sthanu Ravi*. This king *Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara* came to the throne in A. D. 844. See Prof. Elamkulam P. N. K. Pillai. *Keralacaritrattile Irulatanja Edukal, "Sthanuraviyute kalam"*, pp. 95–106 (Third Edition, 1963) The last known year of *Sthanu Ravi* is A. D. 870 when his courtier *Sankaranarayana* composed a commentary on *Laghubhaskariya*. Though Prof. Elamkulam who reconstructed later *Cera* history does not include *Vijayaraga* among these kings, there are two inscriptions which lead

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to the conclusion that he succeeded *Sthanu Ravi* on the throne. An undated *Tirunandikara* inscription states that *Vijayaragadeva* married the daughter of *Kulasekharadeva* who may be identified as the same *Sthanu Ravi Kulasekhara* mentioned above. See *T. A. S.* IV. No. 36 pp. 144-5. A *Cola* inscription of A. D. 936 from *Tiruvorriyur* describes the donor as the daughter of *Ceramanar Vijayaragadeva* who is also mentioned as *Keralaraja*. No. 169 of 1912, *S. I. I.* Vol. III. No. 103. pp. 235-6. King *Vijayaraga* must have ruled in the last quarter of the 9th century starting from somewhere near 970 A. D.

11. See M. G. S. Narayauan, "History From the *Mushakavamsa-kavya*" *Proceedings of The All India Oriental Conference,* Jadhavpur, 1969.

12. Since *Vijayaraga* ruled sometime after 870 A. D. the foundation of *Vijayarageswaram* should be attributed to that period. In that case the 189th year of the temple era would fall somewhere about 1059 A. D. The record was issued on Wednesday with *Avittam* star in the mouth of *Mesha* in a year when Jupiter stood in *Makara*. The only year in this period when this combination is possible is 1083 A. D.

13. *Kokasandesa,* slokas 45-54.

14. "Kollavibhutim kollum vibhava
Nurumatangu kotungallurilu-
Mera vilanginapangupayata
Kunavay kkunamapi kunapam dadhati
Valluvanagarappallijayanti
Putavitinpukal vilthinasobha
Mandikritamangalapuramahima
Dorasamudram nirasamudram"

15. *Rasikaranjini,* Book II. pp. 281-350.

16. The excavation programme was conducted in February-March 1970. Dr. K. V. Raman who headed the team presented a preliminary report at a seminar held in *Kodungallur*. The present writer also participated in the work as Calicut University delegate.

17. It may be borne in mind that scholars like Vaiyapuri Pillai, K. R. Srinivasan, and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri have suggested 8th century or 9th century as the date of the *kavya*.

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IV

1. Walter J. Fischel, "The Exploration of The Jewish Antiquities of Cochin on the Malabar coast", *Charithram,* No. 1, pp. 9–28.

2. *Epigraphia Indica,* III. p. 69

3. In fact this was the second time that the same paper was being published in Kerala. For the earlier publication, See *The Cochin Synagogue 400th Anniversary Souvenir,* Cochin, 1968, pp. 126–50.

4. Walter J. Fischel, *Charithram,* Op. cit. p. 11.

5. *Ibid,* pp. 27–8. Some popular writers in Kerala have taken this to be the last word on the subject. See P. A. Sayed Muhammed, Secretary of the Kerala History Association, writing in the readers' column of the *Mathrubhumi Weekly* dated 23rd Feb. 1969 "Modern scholars like Dr. Walter Fisehel (California University) and Prof. Segal (London University) currently conducting researches in Jewish history stated at the Cochin conference that the copper-plates belonged to the period before the 8th century. Their research papers establish this fact" (Translation by the author)

6. *Epigraphia Indica,* XVI, p. 343.

7. *Travancore Archaeological Series,* II. p. 31. Wednesday, the eigth (expired) day of the solar month *Mina* and *nakshatra Uttara Phalguni,* when Jupitor stood in *Tula rasi.*

8. *Ibid,* pp. 31–2. Gopinatha Rao referred this to L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, the author or the *Indian Ephimeris,* who replied: "I took the period from A. D. 949 to 1329 (380 years) and find only one year in which 9th *Mina* was a Wednesday, when Jupiter was in *Tula* and moon in *Uttara Phalguni* (*Ettu senra* is, I believe, 9th and not 8th). The year in question is A. D. 1020-21, when

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9th *Mina* was Wednesday, 1st March, 1021 A. D. on which day Jupiter was in *Tula* (longitude about 186 *Tula*) and the moon was in *nakshatra Uttara Phalguni*, whose ending moment was 57½ *ghatikas* after mean sunrise. In A. D. 1115-16, the next most likely year, 8th *Mina* was A. D. 1116. I do not find any other year in the period of four centuries (A. D. 950 to 1350) when 8th or 9th *Mina* was a Wednesday and when Jupiter stood in *Tula rasi* and the moon in *nakshatra Uttara Phalguni*." From this Gopinatha Rao calculated that A. D. 978 was the initial year of the reign of *Bhaskara Ravi Varman*. Actually it should not be A. D. 978 but A. D. 979 as pointed out by Prof. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai.

9. *Ibid.* pp. 45–6.

10. 14th year, Jupiter in *Makara*, Month of *Mina* past 20, Sunday and *Punarvasu nakshatra*. See *T. A. S.* II. p. 34. No. 7–B.

11. "A. D. 1060, Sunday, March 12 (*Mina* 20) on which day *Punarvasu nakshatra* began at 12½ *ghatikas* after sunrise, ending next day at 13 *ghatikas* after sunrise. On 12th March A. D. 1060, Jupiter's mean longitude was 290.55 degrees and he was in *Makara*. His actual geocentric longitude was the same." See *T. A. S.* II. pp. 49–50.

12. See Note 11 above. Swamikkannu Pillai himself wrote later to K. N. Daniel admitting that the alternative dates recommended by him were impossible. See K. N. Daniel, *"Dissertations on the Copper-plates of the St. Thomas Christians."* Introduction. See also *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIII. pp. 185 ff.

13. *T. A. S.* II. p. 46.

14. *Ibid.* No. 9. pp. 60–86.

15. *Ibid.* I. p. 289. Photo on opposite page.

16. *Epigraphia Indica.* IX. pp. 234 ff. 1907-8.

17. *T. A. S.* II. p. 32

18. *Ibid.* V. II. No. 61. pp. 187–9. Photo facing p. 189.

19. *Ibid.* No. 56. pp. 176–8.

20. See Note 17 above.

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21. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai, *"Jutasasanam", Cila Kerala Caritra Prasnangal,* II. p. 48. (1955) An English translation of selected essays by this author has been published recently. See Elamkulam, *Studies in Kerala History,* (Kottayam, 1970)

22. See M. G. S. Narayanan, *"Kandan Kari Varman" Mathrubhumi Weekly,* 6th July 1969, and M. G. S. Narayanan, "History From The *Mushakavamsakavya", Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference,* Jadhavpur, 1969.

23. For *Trikkakara* Inscription of *Bhaskara Ravi,* 58th year, See *T. A. S.* II. p. 48. Jupiter stood in *Makara* in the 14th year. It stood in *Chingam* in the 58th year according to this inscription. Therefore the two records must have belonged to the same series and the same sovereign.

24. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas,* (Second Edition, 1955) P. 201.

25. *Arthasastra,* Prakarana 93. Adhyaya 2.

26. Elamkulam, *Prasnangal,* Op. Cit. p. 60.

27. For the recent findings about *Bhaskara Ravi's* coronation name of *Manukuladitya* and his patronage of poets and philosophers, See M. G. S. Narayanan, "The Identity and Date of *Manukuladitya", Proceedings of The Indian History Congress,* Varanasi, 1969, pp. 72–8.

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V

1. For a discussion of the St. Thomas legend in Kerala, See A. E. Medlycott, *India and The Apostle Thomas* (London, 1905); K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala* (Ernakulam, 1924) II. p. 444; A Perumalil, *The Apostles in India* (Patna, 1952). Chap. 2, 3 and 4; L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1956); S. G. Pothan, *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* (Bombay, 1963) pp. 9–12; G. M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India.* (Bombay, 1964) Chapter I; S. J. Podipara, *The Thomas Christians* (London, 1970) pp. 1–29.

Those who accept the tradition rely on later works and circumstantial evidence in the absence of contemporary documents and direct proof. It is at present largely a matter of faith and conjecture, and, unfortunately a prestige issue for many in India.

T. K. Joseph who examined all the relevant material and collected every bit of legend and tradition, remained sceptical. See *Journal of Indian History,* XXVI. III. pp. 301–19. The present writer agrees with him. It is possible that a few St. Thomas Christians migrated to Kerala from Syria and later on people confused their leader Thomas of Cana with the Apostle. This may be another instance of the transplantation of a legend along with a set of people.

2. For particulars, See Ramanatha Aiyar, 'The Kadamarram Pahlavi Cross', *Travancore Archaeological Series.* VII. I. No. 51. pp. 66–75; C. P. T. Winkworth, 'A New Interpretation of Pahlavi Cross Inscriptions', *Kerala Society Papers.* Series 3. pp, 159–64 and Series 5. pp. 217–19; T. K. Joseph, *J. I. H.* Op. Cit. pp. 318–19.

3. See Rev. H. Hosten (Translator), "The Magna Carta of The St. Thomas Christians", *Kerala Society Papers,* Series 4. pp. 169–204.

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4. For the progress of decipherment and interpretation, See Gundert, *Madras Journal of Literature and Science.* XIII. I. p. 130; Gopinatha Rao, *T. A. S.* Op. Cit. II. I. No. 9. pp. 60–85; Elamkulam P. N. K. Pillai, *"Tarisappalli Sasanangal", Cila Kerala Caritra Prasnangal* (Second Edition, Kottayam, 1963) pp. 115–32.

5. The date of *Sthanu Ravi* and the copper-plates remained controversial. Burnell suggested the ninth century. See *Indian Antiquary,* III. p. 315. Gopinatha Rao confirmed it by discovering a reference to this *Cera* king in a *Cola* inscription from Tillaisthanam. See *T. A. S.* II. Op. Cit. pp. 76–7. Prof. Elamkulam fixed the year of coronation of *Sthanu Ravi* with the help of definite statements of his courtier Sankara Narayana in his astronomical work called *Laghubhaskariya Vyakhya.* See Elamkulam, *'Sthanu Raviyute Kalam', Keralacaritrattile Irulatanja Etukal* (Revised Edition, Kottyam, 1963) pp. 95–106.

6. See No. 1. LI. 10–12.

7. See No. 1. LI. 4–5.

8. See Kautalya's *Arthasastra,* Prakarana 22. Adhyaya. 4. *Durganivesa.* The author speaks of the settlement of the *Karukas* (skilled workers) *Vaisyas* (traders) etc. and the building of the *Panyagriha* (market centre).

9. The earliest records dated in the Kollam era are the *Mampalli* copper-plates of *Srivallavan Kota* of the year 149 (978 A. D.) and the *Kollam Rameswaram* stone inscription of *Rama Kulasekhara* of the year 278 (1102 A. D.) See *T. A. S.* IV. I. No. 1. pp. 1–11. and *T. A. S.* V. I. No. 13. pp. 40–46. Both were issued from Kollam and therefore it must have been a local era. The common practice in Kerala during this period was to mention the regnal year of the king or the Kali day or year or the local era usually calculated from the foundation of a temple.

For the different views regarding the origin of the Kollam era, See Robert Sewell, *Indian Chronography* (London, 1912) p. 18; K. P. P. Menon, *History of Kerala,* I. pp. 276–81; Dr. K. K. Pillay, 'The Kollam era', *Prof. Sundaram Pillai Commemoration Volume* (1957) pp. 173–8; Elamkulam, *'Kollavarshattinre Udbhavam', Prasnangal,* Op. Cit. pp. 56–67.

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10. K. P. P. Menon, *History of Kerala,* I. p. 273. "In a Syriac text (which is, however, modern) in *Land's Anecdota Syriaca* (Latin, I–125; Syriac, p. 27) it is stated that three Syrian missionaries (two of them perhaps Nestorian Persians–Mar Sapir and Mar Peroz) came to *Kaulam* in A. D. 823, and got leave from the king *Shakirbirti* to build a church there."

The modern Syriac extract mentioned by K. P. P. Menon is the "Brief History of The Syrians in Malabar" compiled in the 18th century by a Syrian priest of Kerala.

11. The details of the *Cera–Pandya* conflict in the 8th–9th centuries which gave birth to the district of Venadu may be found in M. G. S. Narayanan; 'Pandyan Suzerainty over the Ays of South Kerala', *Proceedings of The Pandyan History Seminar,* Madurai University, Madurai, 1971.

12. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra,* III. pp. 928, 934, 936.

13. See K. P. P. Menon, *History of Kerala,* Op. Cit. I. pp. 298–300. Quoting Dr. Cauldwell and Prof. Max Muller, the author argues that Hebrew words for ivory, apes and peacocks which, according to the Old Testament of the Bible, the shipmen of Solomon carried home, are of South Indian, Tamil-Sanskrit, origin. He suggests that old Hebrew words like *Habim, Kafim,* and *Tukim* have been derived from *Ibha, Kapi* and *Tokai* respectively.

14. *Ibid.* pp. 301-308.

15. The signatures were left undeciphered by Gopinatha Rao when he published the text. See *T. A. S.* II. I. No. 9. pp. 85 ff. At the instance of T. K. Joseph, C. P. T. Winkworth made a partly successful effort to decipher them. As F. C. Burkitt rightly remarked, the difficulty may be partly due to the fact that the plates were cut by one who was not familiar with any af the scripts and names.

According to Winkworth, the Pahlavi group contains ten signatures each introduced by 'menok man' (the spiritual I) and followed by 'patas gokas ham' (I am witness to it). They bear witness to Syriac influence. He reads the eighth name as 'Ohr

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Mazd' with certainty. He tentatively reconstructs the first name as 'Afras son of——t, the Syrian' and suggests, with grave reservations, that it might be 'Afras son of Chaharbaxt, the Syrian'. F. C. Burkitt considers this probable. It certainly agrees with the Syrian tradition mentioned earlier. See Note No. 10 above.

According to Burkitt the eleven Arabic (Kufic) signatures include 1) Maimun, son of Ibrahim, 2) Muhammad, son of Mani, 3) Sulh, son of Ali, 4) Uthman, son of Al-Marziban, 5) Muhammed, son of Yahya, 6) Amr, son of Ibrahim, 7) Ibrahim, son of At-Tay, 8) Bakr, son of Mansur, 9) Al-Kasim, son of Isa and 11) Ismail, son of Yakub.

Again, the Hebrew signatures represent, according to the same authority, Jewish names like 1) Hasan Ali, 2) Isaac, 3) Ben Michael, and 4) Abraham. See C. P. T. Winkworth, 'Note on Pahlavi Signatures', and F. C. Burkitt, 'Arabic (Kufic) and Hebrew signatures', *K. S. P.* Series VI. pp. 320–23.

16. See No. 1, LI, 5–6.

17. See No. 1. LI. 6–8.

18. See No. 1. LI. 14–15.

19. See F. Fawcett, *Nayars of Malabar* (Madras, 1915) pp. 190, 243, 156–70; L. A. Ravi Varma, 'Castes and Tribes of Malabar', *K. S. P.* Series. II. No. 9. p. 191; Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India,* Section or Vannan

20. See No. 2. LI. 3–4.

21. See *T. A. S.* I. No. IV. 'Paliyam Plates of the 322nd year of the Puduvaippu Era.' pp. 1–12. LI. 17–37.

22. See No. 1. LI. 12–14.

23. See Note No. 18 above.

24. See No. 1. LI. 19–20.

25. See No. 2. LI. 18–19.

26. *Ibid.*

27. See No. 2. L. 2.

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28. See No. 2. LI. 21–2.

29. This was imagined by early writers to be a popular assembly or parliament of the district. The present writer has shown that it was the standing army or original force. See M. G. S. Narayanan, 'The Institution of Companions of Honour with special reference to South India'. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Muzaffarpur, 1972).

30. For the views of Dr. Gundert, Dr. Burnell, Rev. Peet and Rev. Taylor, and their criticism by Venkayya and Gopinatha Rao, See *T. A. S.* II. I. pp. 73–75.

The early writers were led to equate *Ancuvannam* and *Manigramam* with Jewish and Christian corporations respectivcly because they found these groups in the Jewish and Syrian records of Kerala. Their critics pointed out that the institutions in question are found in Hindu centres outside Kerala, that they sometimes served Hindu temples and that their members often bore Hindu names. See *Epigraphia Indica,* XVIII. No. 9. pp. 69–73; *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy,* 1926–27. II. p. 93; *Journal of Indian History,* XXV. III. pp. 269–80; K. A. N. Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom,* p. 179; T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity,* pp. 382–4. However such inter-communal arrangements and common names are quite in order. That the Christians of Kerala had been Hinduised in habits and personal names could be seen from the Synod of Diamper of 1599 A. D. also. See D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar,* Chap. VI. pp. 186–7, 189, 203. There is no doubt that *Ancuvannam* and *Manigramam* were more prominent in Kerala than elsewhere.

31. See No. 2. LI. 28–29.

32. See K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India* (3rd ed, London, 1966) pp. 324–5.

33. See No. 2. LI. 29–30.

34. See Trikkakara Temple Inscriptions, *T. A. S.* III. No. 35, 36 and 40. pp. 161–71, 178–77; Uliyannur Temple Inscription, *T. A. S.* VII. II. No. 15. p. 98.

35. See No. 2. LI. 30–32.

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36. See No. 2. LI. 32–34.

37. See No. 2. LI. 34–35.

38. See No. 2. LI. 35–38.

39. See No. 2. LI. 38–45.

40. Gopinatha Rao explains the privilege of earth and water on elephant back at the time of marriage as the right to perform the ceremony of *"mulaippaligai"* or *"ankurarpana"*–a definitely Hindu practice.

41. See Chapter on The Jewish copper–plates of Cochin.

42. There is a general tendency to claim that the early converts were all Brahmins and even the names of the families are sometimes mentioned. This is partly atleast the result of a backward projection of what sociologists call "Sanskritisation." Apart from the fact that the servants of the church could easily have been influenced by the church, it must also be remembered that the message of a new religion like Christianity has greater appeal for the lower classes and castes. Sanskritisation is one of the signs of Hindu influence.

43. See No. 2. LI. 46–47.

44. See No. 2. LI. 47–50.

45. *Ibid.*

46. See Note No. 16 above.

47. Even as late as 1348 A. D. John de Marignole who came to India on his return journey from China and stayed at Kollam (Quilon) has recorded that the Christians of St. Thomas i. e. the Syrian Christians, were the masters of the public weighing office. See D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar,* I. p. 66. By the time of Alfonso D' Albuquerque (1504 A. D) they had lost the privileges of keeping the seal and the standard weight of the city. See Birch (Trans), *Commentaries of Albuquerque, Second Voyage of India,* I. P. 15. Quoted by T. K. Joseph, 'The Malabar Christian Copper–plates', *K. S. P.* No. IV. p. 203. F. N. 13.

48. The Hindu temples of Kerala in this period are mentioned as costodians of measures in several inscriptions. See Cokkur Inscription in *South Indian Inscriptions,* VII. No. 173. p. 72, Trikkakara Inscriptions, *T. A. S.* II. No. 7 (D). pp. 38–403. III. No. 40. pp. 176-77; No. 42. pp. 179–82.

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VI

1. For the wealth of Calicut, See Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval,* I. p. 404.

"Calicut is the busiest and most full of all traffic and commerce, in the whole of India; it has merchants from all parts of the world, and of all nations and religions, by reason of the liberty and security accorded to them there".

2. Michaud, *The History of Mysore,* pp. 23–24. For an account of the Zamorin's palace, See *The Itinerary of Ludovico Varthema,* p. 62 and *The Voyage of Pyrard de Laval,* I. pp. 409–13.

3. K. V. Krishna Ayyar, 'Kozhikode Tali' and M. G. S. Narayanan, 'Tali Kshetravum Pattattanavum' *Tali Temple Kalasam Souvenir,* (Kozhikode, 1967). pp. 81–85, 95–101.

4. Gundert (Ed), *Keralolpathi,* (Mangalore, 1843. Reprint from Trivandrum, 1961.) pp. 81–82.

5. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai, *Keralacaritrattile Irulatanja Etukal,* (Second Edition, Kottayam, 1957) pp. 123–48.

6. Calicut Granthavari copied on 15th Kanni 986 M. E. (1818 A. D.) Quoted in K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut,* (Calicut, 1938) pp. 67–9.

7. S. M. Husayn Nainar, (Trans), *Tuhfat-Al-Mujahidin* (Madras, 1942) pp. 40–41.

8. See O. K. Nambiar, *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen,* (Bangalore, 1955).

9. *The Zamorins of Calicut,* Op. Cit. p. 240. See also App. I. p. 311.

10. *Ibid.* p. 312.

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11. This record in the form of a Sanskrit *sloka* engraved on a granite slab in the front part of the eastern entrance commemorates the building of the *gopura* in Kali year 4943 (1842 A. D.) by the wise king *'Sailavararnidhisah'* i. e. the *Zamorin*. The year is mentioned in terms of a *kalivakya*, i. e. *"Bhupalairvainajadyaih."* It is stated that the king built a divine staircase in the form of a high tower in order to ascend to heaven.

12. Logan, *Malabar*, II. App. XXI p. CCCL.

13. "Bismillahi rahmanirrahim layilaha illalah aliluddin umarul umarlhum masud hakim malik dinar aliyil mavhud..... abdul kadir....."

14. Thanks to Mr. Mohammad alias Kunhu, exporter, all facilities were kindly given by the authorities to me and my friend M. R. Raghava Varier to clean and copy the inscription.

15. The Malayalam transliteration and translation of the text were published in the author's earlier work *Keralacaritrattinre Atisthana silakal*, (Calicut, 1971) pp. 61–68.

16. The careless application of cement on the sides of the slab and frequent whitewashing have temporarily obscured some passages. A delicate process of restoration by expert hands may help to recover the lost portion.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix I

(Chapter II)

A. Paliyam Plates of Vikramaditya Varaguna

Script : Tamil and Nagari Language : Tamil and Sanskrit

Malayalam Transliteration :

First Plate, First Side

1. ഇലൈഞത്തുക്ക മേലെലുലൈ മേലുകാണിയാറു കളത്തുക്കുമു പിടാരി കോയിലുക്കുങ് കിഴക്ക വടവെലുലൈ വണ്ടാഴങ്കോടുട്ടക്ക തൊറു പണ്ണി കടിത്തിരുക്ക

2. കരൈത്തേവറു പഴഞ്ചിക്കുത്തെറുക്ക മണ്ണറൈ ഇരണ്ടുങ് കീഴ്കളത്തു പട്ടവന ഒററി ക്കാണങ്കോവാക ഇലൈ (ഞ) ത്തോടേചെന്റു വരുവന ചിററിടൈചുചെ തെന്വാ

3. (ഴ) പോയു ഇലൈഞത്തു നീറ്ചുചായ്വു ഇലൈ ഞത്തു വടപുറവഴിയേ പോയു ഇലൈഞത്തുക് കൊറ്റി കോടുടമകപുപടകുകോവനുകളത്തൊട്ട കാലനെരിക്കളത്തിനിടൈ വരമു

4. പേ പോയു കാലനെരിക്കള മിലൈഞത്തുക്ക പുരവാക തെരിതിണുടി വയലുകുനു തെങ്കരൈക്ക നട്ടവാക

5. പുപോയിന ഇടൈ കഴിയാകപുപോയിന കീഴീട്ട വൈക്ക മേക്ക മുതിചുചി പഴഞ്ചിയൊട്ട നെടുമണു

6. ടൈയാറു പഴഞ്ചി നട്ടവുപോയിന ഇടൈകഴിക്ക മിടത്തിറു പഴഞ്ചിക്ക പുരുകേ പോയിന ഇട്ടവൈ

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7. ക്കങ്ങ് കോറ് പുളിപ്പഴഞ്ചിക്കു മേക്കു കിടന്ത ഇറവൈക്കു തെറ്കു ഇടൈക്കാട്ടു നല്ലിളൈയാനെയ്യന് കോയിലുക്കു തെറ്കു കരു

8. നന്തരുമന് കടി ഇരുന്ത വളറ്വക പ്പട കടലങ്കളത്തുക്കു തെറ്കു പാറൈക്കു തെറ്കു വലിപലാവിറ്കു ഇരുവിറ്തെല്ല തെറ്കു കരുന്തുക്കു

9. തെറ്കു കീഴെല്ലൈ ഒറ്റൈപ്പനൈക്കു മേക്കു നടുകല്ലുക്കു മേക്കു തെന്നെല്ലൈ നാട്ടമ് പുമുള്ളിയുമ് പട്ടനില നീക്കി ഇതനകമ് തൊളിക്കോ

10. ടൊട്ട കുടപ്പുന്നെയ്കുടുന് തറിക്കുറൈയുഴ കോട്ട ചെല്ലുമ്പു (ലൈ) യരുമ് മറുങ്കോയിറ് കരിയതെല്ലാ മകപ്പട തിരുമൂലവാതത്തു പടാരറ്ക്കടുടികുടുത്

First Plate, Second Side

11. ഓം സ്വസ്തി ॥ യഃ കല്യാണമയസ്വയമ്വിതന്വതേ യഃ കല്പകസ്യ സ്ഥിതിം യസ്യാദഭ്യുദിതസ്സമാംസി ഹരതേ സദ്ധർമ്മഘമ്മദ്യുതിഃ യത് പാദാശ്രയിണോ

12. ഭവന്തി സുഖിനസ്സർവ്വേഗണാഃ പ്രാണിനാന്ധേയാന് മേരുരിവാപരസ്ത്രിജഗതിം സർവ്വാം സ ശൌദ്ധോദനിഃ ॥ ആത്മാകാരഗ്രഹണവിമുഖാ

13. വാഹൃതാപാങ്ഗലീലൌ പ്രാപ്പൌ നിത്യം ശ്രുതിമതിതൃഷ്ണാനേകശുപാവബോധൌ ദേവ്യാഭ്രമേർന്നിഖിലകുമതിധ്വാന്തരോധാനവിതാ

14. യാഃ നേത്രായേതാം ജിതകുവലയൌ ധർമ്മസംഘൌ ചിരായ ॥ നിഷ്യന്ദമാന കരുണാമൃതവാരി പൂരഃ നിർദ്ധൌത

15. നിർമ്മല തരേവ വിരാജമാനാ ലക്ഷ്മിഞ്ചിരായ ജേതാ മവലോകിതസ്യ ദിശ്യാത്തു നഃ ശിശിര ദീധിതി തുല്യകാന്തിഃ ॥

16. ജ്യോത്സ്നാ പൂര ഇവാമലശ്ശശിധരാദാഹ്ലാദയൻ മേദിനീം യഃ പ്രാവർത്തത യദ്ഭവേന ശശിനമ്മുക്ത്വാ കളങ്കഃകചിത്

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Second Plate, First Side

17. യസ്യാമ്സോദയ ഹിമ്യശൈലമലയാഃ ശൈന്യേഭ ദന്താവലീ ടങ്കക്ഷുണ്ണതടാ ഭവന്തി വിജയ

18. സ്യമംഭാ ജഗാന്നിജ്ജയേ ॥ ആസീദ്യസ്യ വിലോലവീ ചികലികാ ബാഹാഗ്ര ഫേനാവലീ പ്രേങംഘച്ചാ

19. മര ചാരു ചാര ചതുരാ ദാസീ ചതുസ്സാഗരീ യജ്ജാ തസ്യ കരോതി മൂർദ്ധംനി മുകടീബന്ധൈകബന്ധൌ രമാ ലീലാമംഭോ—

20. രുഹമണ്ഡലേന ലലിതാം രത്നാതപത്ര ശ്രീയമം ॥ യജ്ജാതേഷ്വനുബന്ധയാജിഷു ഗതേഷ്വദ്യാപി താരാ പഥേ ലക്ഷ്യന്തേ

21. ഹയ മേധ ധൂമ നികരാ ലഗ്നാ ഇവാമംഭോധരാഃ യത്രത്യാ നിവ ചാനകത്തുമഥ തേ ഗത്വാ ചതുസ്സാഗരീം വർഷ ന്ത്യാഹൃതമാഹൃത

22. മം വസുമതീ ഭ്രത്യൈ സ്വസാരോച്ചയം ॥ സ്ഥയാതം ക്ഷിതിഭൃതാമംമൂർദ്ധംനി സംഫുരന്മുക്താഫലോദയഃ വംശേ വാർഷ്ണേയഭൃപാനാം സോയമാ.....

Second Plate, Second Side

23. ....വിഭ്രഷ്ണേന ക്ഷ്യാനതേന ബലരാജി പരാഗധൂമ വ്യാരോദിതാരി വനിതേന വിലിഞ്ജഭർത്രാ ॥ മകര ങ്കഷി ദിനേശേ മാസി പൌഷേ ദിനേ വാ മൃഗശി

24. രസി ഗുരൌ സ പ്രാപ്പ പഞ്ചത്രികായഃ അവനിമദിശ ദസ്യാഃ ദിക്ഷു സീമാദി സർവ്വം ദ്രമിഡവചന ഏവാ ലോക്യതാമത്ര പത്രേ ॥ രക്ഷാർത്ഥ

25. മസ്യാഃ സ്വയമേവ രാജ്ഞാ സുസ്ഥാപിതോ രാജതി വീരകോതഃ ബാഹ്യപധാനാ മുരസി പ്രസുപ്താം ലക്ഷ്മീ ന്ദധാനോ വിജയാനുരക്താം ॥

26. യാചംഞാ കർമ്മണ്യവേദനിശം പ്രീതയേ കമ്മഭോവോ ന സ്വപ്നേപി പ്രണയിസുഹൃദഃ കർത്തുതാ യസ്യ ചാസീതം സോയന്ദേവോ വരുണ ഇ

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27. തിപ്രാർത്ഥയത്യാത്മ വംശ്യാൻ പുണ്യാത്മാ സൌ ന ഖലു വേതാമനുനയോ നാശനീയഃ ॥ ഭ്രയോപ്യേഷ് ക്ഷി തിഭ വൃഷഭോ ഭാവിനോ ന

28. ത്ര മൌലിഃ സർവ്വാനേവ പ്രണയി സുഹൃദോ യാചതേ യാദവേന്ദ്രഃ ഭ്രുവിഃ സേയം ഹൃദയനിഹിതാ രക്ഷണീയാ ഭേദ്ഭിഃ കാലേ കാ

29. ലേ സായമിവ വധൂരന്യഭോഗപ്രമാദാത് ॥ പുണ്യാരംഭേ ത്വരയത മനോ മാനവാ വഃ കൃതാന്തഃ കാലാകാങ്ക്ഷീ നികടമടതി വ്യാവൃതാസ്യപ്ര

30. ചണ്ഡഃ തസ്യൈവാസൌ പ്രിയമിവ പിതാ കർതുമാശു പ്രയാണൈരഹ്നാമീശോ നയതി വേതാമായുഷ്ശ്ലേഷ മാശു ॥ സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ ന ഗോദ്ഭാദശി.

English Translation:

This land, with the boundaries mentioned above, with the *Pulayas* attached to it, and with all that belongs to the *Koyil* (king) has been transferred to the *Bhatara* (deity) of *Tirumulavatam*.

Om. Swasti. He who is full of bliss; he who manifests himself as the tree granting all wishes; he from whom the sun of righteousness has risen to put an end to darkness; he whose service makes all living beings happy—may he, the son of *Sudhodana*, support all three worlds like another *Meru* mountain.

Casting sportive glances at those who are yet without the realisation of the self; reflecting continuously the multifarious forms of life caused by desire; counter-acting the darkness of the minds of all wicked men; may *Dharma* and *Sangha* flourish for ever as the two lily-like eyes of the goddess of Earth.

Let us adore the moon-like radiance of *Avalokita* from whom the nectar of grace flows down profusely and purifies everything, producing prosperity every where.

That which came from the moon-like white rays to gladden the world; that the rise of which removed the stain from the moon; that

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which converted the mountains of sunrise and sunset—the Himalaya and the Malaya—into pillars of victory beautifully engraved by the tusks of war elephants in the course of world conquest; that for which the four oceans have become servant-maids gently moving the flywhisk of their foam-crested waves; that the offsprings of which get the goddess of Lakshmi to place a delicate umbrella above their head with her sportive lotus circle; that the members of which performed so many hoarse-sacrifices as to cause the clouds of smoke linger in the sky even today like rain-clouds; that the members of which the clouds are imitating by drawing the wealth of the four oceans and distributing it for the good of the universe; in that family of *Vrishni* kings forming a jewel on the head of ruling dynasties, was born (this king *Varaguna).*

(This deed was executed) by the devoted king who is the lord of *Vilinjam* and who caused the womenfolk of his enemies weep at the sight of the dust raised by his forces.

When the Sun was in *Makara,* in the month of *Pausha,* on a Thursday with *Mrigasirsha nakshatra,* when he was in his fifteenth year, he gave away this land the boundaries etc. of which are to be found in the Tamil portion of the copper-plates.

The king himself has appointed *Vira Kota,* on whose breast Lakshmi, enamoured of victory, sleeps with his arm for pillow, to protect this institution.

Lord *Varaguna,* to whom it was always a pleasure to be the object of begging, and who has never, even in dreams, begged of others, entreats his descendants not to allow this meritorious dynasty to be ruined.

The lord of *Yadavas,* the best of kings, once again entreats all friends and well-wishers as follows : "This land is to be cherished in your heart and protected for ever from the sin of enjoyment by others as if it is your bride."

Let all men hasten to turn their minds towards meritorious deeds. The god of death, terrible with wide open mouth, follows you waiting for his opportunity. His father, the lord of day, runs fast to favour him by finishing the rest of your lives. Be it well! Bright *Dwadasi.*

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Appendix II

(Chapter III)

A. Tiruvannur Inscription of Raja Raja

Script : Vatteluttu Language : Old Malayalam

Malayalam Transliteration:

1. സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ | കോശ്രീ ഇരൈയിരായര്ക് കച്ചെല്
ലാനിന്റ യാണ്ട നാലാമാണ്ടൈക്കെതിര്
2. നാല് | അവ്വാണ്ട ഇരാമ വളനാട്ട വാണ്ണ പാലി
യത്തു കണ്ണങ്ങ് കണ്ടനമ് പണിയുടൈ
3. യവകളമ് അറുനൂറുവരുനന്നിഴലോരുമ് പാടാറ്
ചെയ്ത കാരിയമാവതു | തിരുമനന്തുര്പ
4. ട്ടാരര്മേല്കണൈയപള്ളിയക്കഞ്ചെല്ലങ്
കൊള്ള വേണ്ടമെന്റ പൊന്പണ്ടിലില്ലാതതു
5. കൊള്ളവേണ്ടാതെന്റൊഴിഞ്ചാര്,ഇപ്പടാരര്
മേല് എവ്വകൈ പ്പട്ടിരുങ്കൊള്ള പെറാര്
നാട്ടവാഴമവ
6. നമ് പണിയുടൈയവകളനന് | തിരുമനന്തുര് പട്ടാ
രരുടൈയ തേവത്തുവമുമ് പിരമത്തുവമുമ് അറുനൂറ്
7. റുവര്ക്കമ് കീഴീട്ട | ഇതിനുക്ക കീഴിടട്ട കാണമ്
ഒരു നന്താ വിളക്കെരിക് ക്കടവര് ഊരാള
8. രിപ്പടാരര്ക്കെയ് | ഇപ്പടാരര്ക്ക അറുനൂറു
വരുമ് ഒരു നാളൈയുരികൊണ്ട ആരാതിനൈ
ചെയ് വിക്ക ക്ക
9. ടവര് | ഇപ്പടാരരുടൈയ ഇടൈയീട്ട തിരുക്കണവാ
യൊടൊക്കയിലക്കിക്കക്കടവര് അറുനൂറുവരു,
10. ഇതിനുക്ക നല്ലിരുനതിയ്യിരുങ്കണ്ട ചെല്ല
ത്തക്കടവനുള്പാട്ട ചെയ്യുമവനന് | ഇപ്പടാ

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11. രര്കടത്ത തേവകാരിയവുന് തരിച്ചിരുക്കില്
പൊത്തുവാള് പെന്റുപൊന്റു വീട്ടിക്കൊട്ടുക്ക
ക്കടവര് അ

12. റുന്നാറുവരുമ് | വീട്ടിക്കൊടാതവന് തിരുക്കു
ണവായ് പെപല്ലുഞ് പെല്നടെ മുട്ടിച്
ചോരാവോരു്

13. അറുങ്കാടന് തോട്ടമ് അറുന്നാറുവര്ക്കുമ് പാ
ലൈയുരൊടൊക്കുമ് | അക നാഴിയെ ച്പെലവി
നുള് പുക്

14. കവിലക്കുവിത്തു പൊരുള് കവരുവിത്തുഞ് പെയ്യു
മൂരാളനു് ഇരുപത്തൈങ്കഴെഞ്ചു പൊന്ത
ണ്ട അറുന്നാറുവര്ക്കു

English Translation :

Hail Prosperity! The fourth year opposite the fourth year of the reign of King Sri *Rajaraja*. This is the agreement made in that year by *Paliyattu Kannan Kantan*, Governor of *Ramavalanadu*, the offiicers, and The Six hundred of the shadowforce. We hereby reject the claim for gold from this deity of *Tirumannur* advanced by *Kanayapalli Yakkan Cellan* since it is not sanctioned by precedent. The governor and his officers are not entitled to receive any payment from this deity. The temple property and the Brahmin property of *Tirumannur* shall be under the protection of The Six Hundred. The proprietors shall burn a permanent lamp before this deity by way of protection fee. The Six Hundred shall see that every day worship of this deity is performed with five *nali* of rice. The Six Hundred shall protect the property of this deity treating it as equal to *Tirukkunavay*. The person in charge of the shrine shall carry on the administration and decide what is good or bad for this institution. The Six Hundred shall take remedial action regarding the affairs of this deity on the basis of the report from the secretary of the shrine. If he fails he shall be deemed as equal to a person who obstructs the property of *Tirukkunavay*. The garden of *Arungadan* shall go The Six Hundred on the same conditions as *Palaiyur*. The proprietor who

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obstructs cultivation or commits theft in the property set apart for expenses in the temple shall pay twenty five *Kalancu* of gold to The Six Hundred as fine.

Notes: Rajaraja = This *Cera* king followed *Rajasimha* in the middle of the 11th century. *Ramavalanadu* = This is one of the districts of the *Cera* kingdom which must have consisted of the territory around the present village of *Ramanattukara*. *Pani Utayavakal* = Officers. *Arunurruvar* = The organisation of The Six Hundred, as well as the leader of the organisation, have been referred to by this term but it probably represents the leader in this case. *Nilalor* = This term literally means the shadow men or the shadow man. It is the function of The Six Hundred to follow their master in everything and protect his person. *Natuvalumavan* = Governor of the district. *Patarar* = Deity. *Devasvam* = Temple property. *Brahmasvam* = Brahmin property owned by the Brahmin families which formed the assembly of proprietors in a village. *Kilitu* = Property assigned for protection. *Kilittu kanam* = Protection fee. *Uralan* = Member of the village assembly. *Nantavilakku* = Permanent lamp. *Ulpatu ceyyumavan* = Priest in charge of the shrine. *Potuval* = Secretary of the temple. The term literally means 'man of all work.' *Cennate* = Temple revenue. *Akanalika* = Inner temple. *Tanta* = Fine.

B. Relics of Jainism — Alatur

(Extract from N. G. Unnithan, 'Relics of Jainism – Alatur', *Journal of Indian History*, XLIV. II. P. 540)

"The image of Mahavira recovered from *Alatur* is seated in the *Paryankasana* pose on a simple but nicely finished *Bhadrasana*. The figure is exceedingly graceful and the proportions are well modelled. The face displays inner composure and self absorption. The shoulders are straight and square and the arms and body are beautifully modelled. The usual marks of Jain sculpture are absent except the triple umbrella, nudity, long arms, youthful body and the *lanchana* of Mahavira, namely the lions. The *Gandharvas* flank the sides of the Jina. The well-modelled proportions of the body,

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the graceful face etc. indicate an early period probably 9th-10th century A. D. The *Gandharvas* hold the *Cauris* in their right hands and they keep the left ones akimbo. Two lions with palm upwards are carved on the sides of Mahavira.

"The other sculpture is that of Parsvanatha which is also intact except for certain cracks here and there. All the *Lanchanas* for the Jain figure are not seen in the sculpture. Instead of a seven-hooded or five-hooded cobra above Parsvanatha, a three-hooded cobra alone is seen. He is in *Kayotsarga* pose. The hands and body indicate deep meditation. The face is round and the shoulders straight. The limbs are gracefully modelled and trunk is nude. The other identifying marks of a Jain figure like *Srivatsa* symbol, *Yaksha* figures etc., are not seen. The *Yaksha Dharanendra* and *Yakshini Padmavati* too are absent."

C. Alatur Jain Inscription of Nalpattennayiravar

Script : Vatteluttu Language : Old Malayalam

Malayalam Transliteration :

1. സ്വസ്തി | നാർപത്തെണ്ണായി –
2. രവരുമ് പട്ട (കള്) ഇരുവരുനു് തിരുക്കണവാ (യിലു്)
3. തേവരു് അതി കാരരുമ് പതി.....
4. നാളമൈതു്ത.....
5. ... .
6. ളഞ്ചിയരു് പള്ളി.....പള്ളികള് തെയുമ്.....
7. പ്പടി എവ്വകൈപ്പട്ടതെയുമ് ഉഴൈക്കല മെവ്വകൈപ്പട്ട തെയു
8. മ്പ.....പ്പടാരു് ഇവ കവരവുമ് പണൈയ
9. മ് വൈയ്കകവുനു് തണ്ടമ.....
10. റ് കൊട്ടപ്പാളരായിലു് അവറ്കള് തിരുക്കണവാ യ്തുതേ വരിടൈ.....

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11. .....യുമ് പാട്ടാറ് അവര് അന്ന(പന്തമ്ചെയ്
യുമ) വന്നമപ്പാപ
12. ചെയ്യകളാര് | നാട്ടാര്.....തവരു മവര്ഇരവി....
13. ....യുമ് പല.....പചുകക്കൈയുമ് കൊന്റപഞ്ച
14. പാതകരുമാവര് | അവര്കളുമ് അവര്കള്ചന്തതി
യുമിപ്പള്ളികള്
15. ക്കിറൈയരുമാവര് | ഇപ്പള്ളി കളിന് പൂമികളുമ
ഴൈക്കലമ് പൂ
16. മിയുമ്പള്ളിയടൈക്കാരാണ്മൈയുമ്പുക്കവില
ക്കിലന്തിരു
17. ക്കണവായ്ത്തേവരൈയുമ്.....
18. ക്കൊള്ളിത്ത അവര്ക്.....ക്കപ്പടവന്
തിരുക്കണവായ്ത്തേ
19. വര് കള്.....രാവക്കടവര്..... .....ഇപ്പ
20. .....ഇപ്പള്ളികള്.....പൂമി.....മേല്,.....
21. വാസരേതുവസുന്ധരാ.....സഹസ്ര.....പള്ളി

English Translation:

Hail Prosperity! (This is the agreement) made on the day .....by The Forty eight Thousand, the two servants, and the officers of *Tirukkunavay*. The organisation of *Valanciyar* (accepted the tenancy of?) everything including the whole of *Ulaikkalam* belonging to the *Palli*. Those who steal, mortgage, or extract.....Those who give (this property away?) shall be (deemed as those who commit offences against?) the deity of *Tirukkunavay*. Those who support them also shall be committing the same offence.....They shall also be deemed as having committed one of the five sins by killing cows.....They and their descendants shall be outcastes for these *Pallikal*. If anyone obstructs the lands of these *Pallikal* or the lands for *Ulaikkalam* or the tenants of the *Pallikal*, he (shall be deemed as offender against?) *Tirukkunavay Tevar*.....

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D. Talakkav Jain Inscription of Narpattennayiravar

Script : Vatteluttu Language : Old Malayalam

Malayalam Transliteration :

1. സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ | തിരുക്കു
2. ണവതു
3. തേവറ്കു ചെല്ലാനിന്റ യാണ്ടു
4. ന്നൂറു മുപ്പത്തേഴ | അവ്വാണ്ടു
5. നകരമു ചെയ്ത നാറ്പതുതെണ്ണായി —
6. രവരു ....
7. വെച്ച വിളകിനുകമു
8. കടമ്പാടി ഇരുപതു
9. നാലു പൊതി നകരപൊരൈ പ —
10. ന്നിരണ്ടു പൊതി | ചെനു
11. റ്റു വിലകിലു തിരുകു —
12. ണവാ പിഴൈചോരാവിതു | ഇ
13. — — — — — — മതു.

English Translation :

Hail Prosperity! In the year one hundred and thirty seven of *Tirukkunavay Tevar*, The Forty eight Thousand who founded a *nagaram* (set apart) twenty four *poti* from *Nakeraporai* for the lamp (they) instituted. Those who obstruct shall be (deemed as) offenders against *Tirukkunavay*.

Notes : Nakaram = Trade corporation or trade centre. *Narpattennayiravar* = The organisation of The Forty Thousand. *Poti* = A measure.

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E. Kinalur Jain Inscription of Arappan Kunci alias Kurumporai

Script : Vatteluttu Language : Old Malayalam

Malayalam Transliteration :

1. സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ | തിരുക്കാളിയപ്പടാരർക്
2. കു തിരുവ (ഭിഷേക) ഞ്ചെതു ചെല്ലാനിന്റയാ ണ്ടു
3. ന്നൂറെണ്പത്തൊന്പതാമാണ്ടു മകരത്തുള്
4. വിയാഴനിറ്റുക മേടഞായിറുള്
5. പ്പൂതനാണ്ടവിടത്തു നാളുക്കു
6. ണവായ്നല്ലൂര് വിചൈയരാകീച്ചു
7. വരത്തു പള്ളിക്കു നിച്ചനടൈക്
8. കു നാനാഴിയരിയുനനന്താവിള
9. ക്കിരണ്ടിനുക്കുങ്ങ് കൂടിയിരുനാഴി
10. പിടിക്കുന്തുണിയാല് നാല്പതു പൊ
11. തിയാക തിരുപ്പലിക്കുഞ്ചാന്തിക്കു
12. ങ് കുടൈ ക്കുങ്ങ് കൂത് തിനുക്കു ഞ്ചനന്തണത്
13. തിനുക്കുമ് പള്ളിത്താമത്തിനുക്കുമ്
14. ആരപ്പനു കുഞ്ചിയായിന കറു
15. മ് പുറൈ അറ്ത്തങ് കൊണ്ടു തിരുവ
16. ന് ചക്കളത്തു ചാത്തനാരുക്കടി
17. ക്കു കാരാണ് മൈ കുടുത്താള് തന്
18. കൂറു കാനത പുരമുമ് മുടക്ക
19. രൈയുരുമ് പൈങ്കണ്ടത്തുരുങ്
20. കരട്ടിയുമ് പരലാട്ടു മിവൈ കാരാ
21. ണ് മൈ വാഴ്ന്തു ചെലവു ചെലുത്തക്
22. കടവള് | ചെലുത്തവല്ലാ താക്കില്
23. ഇരുനാഴിത്തുണിയാല് നൂററിരുപ
24. തു പൊതി നെല് മുക്കാല് വട്ടത്തളവു
25. കുടുക്ക കുകടവള് | ഒരാണ്ടു മുട്ടുകി
26. ല് കുകാരാണ്മൈ വിടക്കടവള് തേ
27. വറ്കുകു ചാത്തനാരുകകടി | മുട്ടായിഞ്
28. ഞായിറു കോയിറ്കുനറുങ് കുഴവനചേരി
29. ക്കുഴിയുങ് കാരാണ്മൈ വാഴ്ന്തു തിരുപ്
30. പലിക്കൈങ് കലനനെല് കുടുക്ക ക
31. ടവള് കുനറുന ചിറുനങ് കൈ | മൂവാണ്ടു
32. കുഴിഞ്ഞാട്ടാണ്ടൈഞ്ഞാഴി ത്തുണി

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33. യാല് മുക്കലന്നെല്ക
34. ട്ടുക്ക കടവള് കന്റന് ചിറ്റന
35. ങ്കൈ | കണവായ് നല്ലൂര്ത്തേവര്ക്
36. ക കൊടുത്തിയാലൊരു നന്താവിളക്
37. ക ചെല്വത്തക്കടവള് ചാത്തനാരുക്ക
38. ടി | തേവകി നടൈ പ്പൂരൈയിടങ്കാ
39. രാണ്മൈ വാഴ്ന്തു വിടൈപെരാകീച്ചു
40. വരത്തു വിരിച്ചിക വിളക്ക ചെ
41. ല്വത്ത ക്കടവന് ചാത്തന് ചിരികണ്
42. ടന് | മന്നകലൈ ചേകരനല്ലൂര് വടക് —
43. കിന് കരൈ യാര പ്പങ്കഞ്ചിയായി
44. ന കറുമ്പൂരൈ തന്കീഴു കണവായ്
45. നല്ലൂര് തേവര്ക്ക നിച്ചനടൈ യി—
46. രു നാഴിയു മക്കിരമൊന്റും പോചനമി
47. രണ്ടിന്നക്കങ് കുത്തിന്നഞ്ചെല്വത്തിക്
48. കാരാണ്മൈ ചെയ്യക്കടവന് ചാത്തന്ചി —
49. രികണ്ടന് | ഒരാണ്ടു മുട്ടി പണിവി —
50. ടക്കടവന് | പലികളവു കൊട്ടക കടവൈ
51. ഴുന്നൂറുവരുമ് കാരാളന്മമ് മുവായി —
52. രവരുന്തിരുത്തു ചെല്വത്തി ക്കൊള്
53. ളുക്കടവര് | അറം പാതു കാക്ക

English Translation :

Hail Prosperity! In the one hundred and eighty ninth year after the sacred bath of *Tirukkaliya Patarar*, when Jupiter stood in *Makara*, on Wednesday, *Avittam nakshatra*, in the month of *Mesha*, *Arappan Kunci* alias *Kurumpurai* received payment and conferred on *Cattanarukkati* of *Tiruvancakkalam* the tenancy of her share in *Kantapuram*, *Mutakkaraiyur*, *Painkantattur*, *Kuratti*, and *Paralatu* for the conduct of the expenses of daily worship with four *nali* of rice, two permanent lamps with forty *poti* measured by the *tuni* holding two *nali*, and *Sribali*, *Santi*, *Kutaikkuttu*, *Cantanam* and *Pallittamam* in the *palli* of *Vijayaragiswaram* at *Kunavaynallur*. If she finds it difficult to conduct the expenses she is allowed to

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pay in terms of paddy a total of one hundred and twenty *poti* measured with the *tuni* holding two *nali*. If *Cattanarukkati* defaults in the payment to the deity for one year she shall forgo the tenancy. *Kunran Cirunankai* shall take up the tenancy of *Muttayinnayiru, Koyirkkunru,* and *Kulavancerikkali,* and pay five *kalam* of paddy for *Sribali*. After three years *Kunran Cirunankai* shall pay every year three *kalam* of paddy measured by the *tuni* holding five *nali*. *Cattanarukkati* shall institute a permanent lamp for *Kunavaynallur Tevar* with the revenue from *Kuratti*. *Cattan Cirikantan* shall institute a *Vrischika Vilakku* at *Vijayaragiswaram* with the proceeds from the tenancy of the house-site named *Tevakinatai*. *Cattan Cirikantan* shall take up the tenancy of the share of *Arappan Kunci* alias *Kurumpurai* in *Manukulaicekaranallur* north bank for instituting daily worship with two *nali* of rice, one Brahmin feeding, two meals, and *Kuttu* for *Kunavaynallur Tevar*. If he defaults for one year he shall leave the service. The Seven Hundred, The *Uralan,* and The Three Thousand shall supervise the measurement and rectify mistakes. May this be protected.

Notes: Tirukkaliya Patarar = The deity called *Kaliya* or *Kalaka*. *Tiruvabhishekam* = Sacred bath. The date is mentioned in terms of the 189th year after the sacred bath of the deity which denotes the consecration of the temple. *Kutai* = Umbrella. *Kuttu* = The peculiar form of mono-act which combines action and recitation. *Pallittamam* = Sacred garland. *Tuni* = A measure which was equal to 2 *nali* at times and 5 *nali* at other times. The smaller measure is prescribed here. *Vrischikavilakku* = Lamp to burn throughout the month of *Vrischika*. *Elunurruvar* = The Seven Hundred. This is the organisation of the companions of honour belonging to the governor of *Kurumpurainadu*. *Muvvayiravar* = The Three Thousand. This might be a local trade corporation.

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Appendix III

(Chapter IV)

A. The Jewish Copper-plates of Cochin

Script : Vatteluttu Language : Old Malayalam

Malayalam Transliteration

Firs Plate, First Side

1. സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ | കോകോന്മൈ കൊണ്ടാന്
   കോശ്രീ പാറ്കരന്
2. ഇരവിവന്മർ തിരുവടി പലന്നൂറായിര
3. ത്താണ്ടും ചെങ്കോല് നടത്തിയാ
   ളാ നിന്റ യാണ്
4. ട ഇരണ്ടാമാണ്ടൈക്കെതിര് മുപ്പ
   ത്താറാമാണ്ട മു
5. യിറി ക്കോടിട്ട ഇരുന്തരുളിയ നാള്
   പിരസാതിച്ചരു
6. ളിയ പിരസാതമാവതു | ഈസ്സുപ്പു ഇറപ്പാന്നക്കു
7. അഞ്ചുവണ്ണമും വെടിയാലുമ് വായനത്താലു
8. മ് പാകടമും അഞ്ചുവണ്ണ
   പ്പെറുമ് പകലിവി
9. ളക്കമ് പാവാടൈയുമ് അന്തോ
   ളകമുമ് കടൈയുമ്

First Plate, Second Side

10. വട്ടകപ്പറൈയുമ് കാകാളമുമ് ഇട്ടപടിയുമ്
    തോരണമുമ് തോ
11. രണവിതാനമുമ് ചരവുമ്മിക്കമ് എഴുപത്തിരണ്ട
    വിട്ട
12. പേറുമ് കൂടക് കൊട്ടത്തോമ് | ഉല്കനന്
    തുലാക്കുലിയു

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13. മ് വിട്ടോമ് | മറുമ് നകരത്തില് കടികളു് കോയിലിക്ക
14. ഇറുക്കുമതു ഇവനു് ഇറാമൈയുമ് പെറുമതു പെറവുമ്
15. ആകയ്പെപ്പേടുടോട്ടമ് ചെയ്തു കൊട്ട ത്തോമ് | അഞ്ചുവണ്ണ
16. മ് ഉടൈയ ഈസ്സുപ്പു ഇറപ്പാനുക്കുമ് ഇവനു് സന്തതി ആണു്
17. മകുകളുക്കുമ് പെണ്മകുകളുക്കുമ് ഇവനു് മരുമകുകളുക്കു
18. മ് പെണ്മക്കളൈ കൊണ്ട മരുമകുകളുക്കുമ് സന്തതിപ്പിര
19. കിരിതി ഉലകുമ് ചന്തിരനുമ് ഉള്ളളവുമ് അഞ്ചു വണ്ണമ് സ

Second Plate, First Side

20. ന്തതിപ്പിരകിരിതി | ശ്രീ | ഇപ്പരി അറിവേ നു് വേണാട്ട
21. ടൈയ കോവറ്ത്തന മാത്താണ്ടനു്|ഇപ്പരി അറിവേനു് വേണു്
22. പലിനാട്ടടൈയ കോതൈ ചിരികണ്ടനു് | ഇപ്പരി അറിവേ
23. നു് ഏറാളനാട്ടടൈയ മാനവേപലമാനവിയനു് | ഇപ്പരി
24. അറിവേനു് വള്ളുവനാട്ടടൈയ ഇരായ രഞ്ചാത്തനു് | ഇപ്പ
25. രി അറിവേനു് നെട്ടമ് പൂറൈയുര്നാട്ടടൈയ കോതൈ യിരവി | ഇ
26. പ്പരി അറിവേനു് കിഴപ്പടൈ നായകമ് ചെയ്യിനുറ മുറുക്ക
27. ഞ്ചാത്തനു് | വന്റലൈ ചേരിക്കണ്ടനു് കുന്റപ്പോഴനായ കീഴു്
28. വായ്ക്കേള്പ്പാനെഴത്തു് |

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English Translation :

"Hail Prospeirity! This is the gift that His Majesty, King of Kings, *Sri Bhaskara Ravi Varman,* who is to weild sceptre for several thousand years, was pleased to make during the thirty sixth year opposite to the second year of his reign, on the day when he was pleased to reside at *Muyirikkode.*

"We have granted to *Joseph Rabban, Ancuvannam,* tolls by the boat and by carts, *Ancuvannam* dues, the right to employ day lamp decorative cloth, palanquin, umbrella, kettledrum, trumpet, gateway, arch, arched roof, weapon and the rest of the seventy two privileges. We have remitted duty and weighing fee.

"Moreover, according to this copper-plate grant given to him, he shall be exempted from payments made by other settlers in the town to the king, but he shall enjoy what they enjoy.

"To Joseph Rabban, proprietor of *Ancuvannam,* his male and female issues, nephews, and sons-in-law, *Ancuvannam* shall belong by hereditary succession. *Ancuvannam* shall belong to them by hereditary succession as long as the world, sun and moon endure—

"Prosperity!

This is attested by *Govarthana Marthanda,* Governor of *Venadu*
This is attested by *Kota Cirikantan,* Governor of *Vempalinadu*
This is attested by *Manavepala Manaviyan,* Governor of *Eralanadu*
This is attested by *Rayiran Chattan,* Governor of *Valluvanadu*
This is attested by *Kota Ravi,* Governor of *Nedumpurayurnadu*
This is attested by *Murkkan Chattan,* Commander of the Eastern Forces.
This writing is executed by *Vanralacheri Kantan Kunrappolan,* the officer who takes down oral communication.

Notes : Ko = King or His Majesty. This is the formal title of the sovereign. *Konmai Kontan Ko* = King of Kings. *Pala noorayirattantum.....* = It was customary to state that the king was destined to rule for many thousands of years. See the Syrian copper-plates of *Sthanu Ravi* also. *Irantam antaikketir muppattaram antu* = The year thirty six after the second year. It was customary to split up the regnal year into two or three parts. *Muyirikkode* = *Muciri* or *Muziris.* The term *'kode'* meaning town is added to *Muyiri.* It

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appears that the Jewish settlement in *Kodungallur* (Cranganore) stood on the site of the old *Muciri* or *Muziris*. *Pakalvilakku* = Daylamp. The privileges enumerated here were enjoyed by the aristocracy in Kerala. *Ulkku*=Duty. *Tulakkuli*=Weighing fee. Marumakkal = Nephews. *Penmakkalaikkonta marumakkal* = This term literally means nephews by marriage. The term *'marumakkal'* is used in Malayalam for nephews and sons-in-law alike. It was customary in Kerala for the male to marry the daughter of his uncle. In fact it was almost a right for the male. The specific statement that nephews inherited the title of *Ancuvannam* shows that the matrilineal order of succession was prevalent in Kerala and that it was also accepted by the Jewish settlers in Kerala. *Ippari ariven*..... = The first five witnesses mentioned here are the governors of five districts in Kerala mentioned in several other documents of the *Cera* period also. In addition to them the commander of the Eastern Forces was also present as witness here. Therefore it is clear that these feudatories and the military official had met in the capital as a war council in the wake of the aggression started by *Rajaraja Cola*. *Kilvay Kelppan* = This was often misinterpreted as a personal name i. e. *Kelappan* of *Kilvay* house. In fact this is an official title meaning "the person who listens to royal words" i. e. the official who records oral communication. Compare this with the official mentioned as *Kettuviliyan* in the *Muccunti* mosque inscription.

B. The Jewish Folksongs on Joseph Rabban

Malayalam Transliteration:

No. 1.

തമ്പുരാൻ മുയിമ്പാക കൊണ്ട പൊകുതിച്ച
പെലുവത്തും ഹക്കന്നെ കോത നഗരി
മുന്നാന ഒണ്ട മുൻ താളം ഒണ്ട
മൂവർ ഇരാജാക്കൊം ആരാരുൊം പെറു
ആനെയും ആളും അരുശെന്നും കൂട
ആരാനെക്കൊണ്ട താളന്താര വെച്ച
ഇത്ര നയിമെയിൽ പെറു വരുമ്പൊ
യോസെഫ് റബോനെ പാട്ടവോർ നാമേ

* * * *

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നാട്ടം നഗരവും ഒക്ക വിളങ്ങി
നാട്ടി വെളക്കല്ലൊ കൊനാരെ കോമാൻ
ചെമ്മാകരെ ഒണ്ട ചിന്തവും ഒണ്ട
ചെമ്മെയിൽ ചെല്ലാനാ ചിരിയാനന്താനും
പൊന്ന കൊടി ഒണ്ട പോർ കൊടി ഒണ്ട
പോർ മന്നൻ എതിരേറു വരുവായോകിളിയേ
ഇത്ര നയിമെയിൽ പെറുവരുമ്പൊ
യോസെഫ് റാനെ പാട്ടപോർ നാമേ.

No. 2.

ഒലകു പൊകത്ത വഞ്ചി നന്നി ഒണരു ഒരിവൻ ഒടയോ നോട്ട, അരുളടെയോൻ താനായ്ക്ക തലയിപ്പട്ടം പകവെളക്കും പാവാടെ വഴി വഴിയെ, അടിക്കീളം മുടിക്കീളം അവർ പെടാതെ അത്തമിട്ട നഗരു നിറത്തി മുടിവേന്തൻ തലമാകനെ മുവായിരത്തി അറുന്നൂറു അരി വെതറെ.

അരി വെതറെ ആണ്ടവരെ അവരിലിരുന്ന അവരവര ഒശയോടെ ചിത്തരത്തിൽ കുറിച്ചകൊണ്ട ചെപ്പേട്ടിൽ എഴുതി ക്കൊണ്ട ചിരിയാനന്തൻ വരവു ചൊല്ലുകിൽ, ആനാന്തരം ആന കഴുത്തേറി അരിമ്പൊടയാ ചിരിയാനന്തൻ വരവു കാണ്മാൻ കുതിര കഴുത്തേറി കൊണമൊടയ ചിരിയാനന്തൻ വരവു കാണ്മാൻ പച്ചക്കൊടിക്കീളെ പാർമകളാര എതിരേറു പള്ളിപ്പുക്ക

No. 3.

തഞ്ചമില്ലാതെ തനീ നഗരീ
തമ്പിരാനോട്ട അരുൾ പെറ വീരൻ
വെള്ളി ചെറു ചെപ്പും വെറിലയും
വെള്ളിമാതാട്ടം അതിനകത്തു്
എള്ളോളവും കുറവില്ല കണ്ടാൽ
ഏതവനും പെറ കല്യാണം
ആയിരം പൊയ് വെച്ചൊരു ആലവട്ടം
ആന കഴുത്തിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളുമ്പോൾ
മടിപ്പണം ഇട്ട വാരിക്കോരി
മാണിക്ക വീരൻ ചിരിയാനന്തൻ
* * *

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പാരിമതോതനും ചൂതപ്പള്ളി
പാരാത ഇരിക്കെണം ന്നറാണ്ടുക്ക
ചൂതർ ഉള്ള ഗ്രലമിതെന്ന
ചൂതപ്പള്ളിച്ചെന്ന കമ്പിടുവാൻ
പാരാതെ ഇരിക്കണം ന്നറാണ്ടുക്ക.

English Translation:

No. 1. The city of *Kota* is awaiting the procession on its way to meet the sovereign. There are elephants and the display of instruments in front of it, and three princes accompanying it. When they come with elephant, people, and princes, when they come in glory, let us sing the praise of *Joseph Rabban.*

* * * *

All the country and all the cities are illuminated. The king of kings – he is the lamp of all the countryside. He has all pomp and pleasure and the Syrian at his side. He has the golden flag, the flag of victory. Oh! bird! you welcome the hero of the battle. When they come in glory, let us sing the praise of *Joseph Rabban.*

No. 2. Following the command of the lord, the day lamp and decorative cloth, and all the privileges in order, were conferred on him. All the citizens were feasted and rice was freely distributed.

It is difficult to describe the procession of the Syrian with all the privileges engraved on the copper-plate. Does he come on the back of an elephant? Or does he come on the back of a horse? Everybody is waiting with green flags to greet the good Syrian and to accompany him to the synagogue.

No. 3. The hero who received investiture from the lord of the unique city arrives. Get ready the silver cup, the betel and the big silver plate. Let everything be ready! Let every one be merry! When he arrives on elephant back, with ornamental fans decorated with a thousand peacock plumes, he lavishly throws money into every lap, the jewel of a hero, the Syrian.

* * * *

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Let the Jewish synagogue prosper for hundreds of years! Let us proclaim that Jews live here! Let us bow down at the Jewish synagogue! Let it flourish for hundreds of years!

Notes: Kotai Nagari = The city of *Kota.* This is a reference to *Kodungallur* (Cranganore) officially known as *Makotaiyar Pattanam* or the city of the great *Kota. Pakavelakku.....* = The seventy two privileges mentined in the copper-plates are indicated here. *Matippanam* = It was the custom of great ones to throw coins into the lap of people waiting to greet and cheer them on the roadside. *Cutappalli* = The Jewish synagogue.

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Appendix IV

(Chapter V)

A. Kottayam Syrian Copper-plates of Sthanu Ravi

Script : Vatteluttu and Pahlávi, Kufic and Hebrew

Language : Old Malayalam

Malayalam Transliteration:

No. 1. First Plate

1. സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ | കോത്താണ ഇരവികുത്തന്പല
2. ന്നൂറായിരത്താണ്ടും മറുകതലൈ
3. ച്ചിറന്ത ടി പ്പ ടുത് താളാ നിന്റ യാ ണ് ട്ടള്
4. ച്ചെലാനിന്റയാ
5. ണ്ടൈന്തു | ഇവ്വാണ്ട വേണാട്ട വാഴ്കിന്റ
6. അയ്യനടികടിരുവടിയും
7. മതികാരരുമ് പിരകിരുതിയും (മണികിരാമമു)
8. മഞ്ചു വണ്ണമുമ്പുന്നൈത്ത
9. ലൈപ്പതിയുമ്മുള്വൈത്തു കുരകുകേണികൊ
10. ലത്തു എശോദാ തപിരായി ചെ
11. യ്വിത്ത തരുസാപ്പള്ളികുക ഐയ്യനടികടി
12. രുവടി കുടത്ത വിടുപേറാവതു | നാ
13. ലുകടി ഈഴവരുമ്മകു കടികുകേറുമ്മീഴകൈയ
14. രെണ്മരുമ്മിവകളു പന്നിരുവ
15. രുമ്മൊരുവണ്ണാരുകുകടിയുമ്മിവ്വനൈവരുകു
16. കന്തളൈകുകാണമു മ്മേണികുകാണമുമ്മ
17. നൈ മേയ്പ്പാന് കൊള്ളമിറൈയുഞ്ചാന്റാന്
18. മാടിട്ട മേനിപ്പൊന്നമ് പൊലിപ്പൊന്ന
19. മ്മിരവു ചോറുങ്കുടനാഴിയുമ്മിവ്വനൈത്തുങ്
20. കൊള്ളപ്പെറാരു | വാരകുകോ

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11. ലൃങ്കപ്പാന്തമ്പൈഞ്ചക്കണ്ടിയുമ്മുന്ന മ്പെറുടൈയന നാന്തമ്വിട്ട
12. പേറാക അടിക്കുത്തേനിന്നാലുകടി ഈഴവരുമ് മൊരുകടി വണ്ണാരു

Second Plate, First Side

13. മ്മെവ്വകൈപ്പട്ട ഇറൈയുന്തരിസാപ്പ ള്ളിയ്ാര്ക്ക വിട്ട
14. പേറാകപ്പൈപ്പൂപ്പത്തിരഞ്ചെയ്തടിക് കുത്തേന് | ഇ
15. വ്വീഴവര്തമ്വണ്ടികണന്തങ്കാടിയിലു മ്മതിലിലുമ് വിയാപരിക്കപ്പെറുവര് | വണ്
16. ണാന്തമ് വന്തങ്കാടിയിലുമ്മതിലിലുമ്വന്തു തന്പണി
17. ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളപ്പെറുന് തീയമാള്വാന്തമ്മതിനാ യകന്തമ്മറ്
18. റുമ്മെവ്വകൈപ്പട്ടാരുമ്മെപ്പിഴൈ ചൊ ല്ലിയുമ്മിവക
19. ളൈ ത്തട്ടമാറപ്പെറാര് | ഇവകളെപ്പിഴൈചെ യ്യിലുമ് പ
20. ള്ളിയാരൈയ് ആരാന്തു കൊള്ളപ്പെറുവര് | ഉല കഞ്ചന്തിരാ

Second Plate, Second Side

21. തിത്തരുമ്ഉള്ളനാളെല്ലാഞ്ചെപ്പൂപ്പത്തി രത്തി
22. ല് പട്ട പരിതു വിട്ടുപേറു അടിപ്പേറാക അട്
23. ടിക്കുത്തേന് | ഇപ്പരിതു വിട്ടുപേറു അടിപ് പേറാക
24. അയ്യനിടികടിരുവടിയാല് തരിസാപ്പള്ളിക്ക അട്ടവി
25. തുക്കുത്താന് മരുവാന് സപരീരീശൊ | ഇതു കാത് തില
26. ക്കികുമ്മവര്ക്കുത്തേവരൈയന്നക്കിരാമഞ് ചെയ്വാരാക | അ

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27. യനെഴത്തു | (ഒപ്പ്) | വേളു കലചുന്തരന്നക്ക മൊക്കമ് | (ഒപ്പ്) | വിചൈയ

No. 2. First Plate. First Side

1. ഇരണ്ടു കടി — — വിയരുമ് ഒരു കടി തച്ചരു മളടൈയ പൂമിയ്ക്കു കാരാ
2. ഴരു നാലു കടി വെളുളാളരുമ് ഇവ്വനൈവരു തേവരു കുകു നട്ടവന ന
3. ടുട്ടു ഇട്ടവന ഇടുട്ടു പളുളികുകു എണുണൈകുകമ്മറു മു വേ
4. ണുട്ടമു കടുങ്കുറവു വരാതെയു ചെയ്യകുകടവരാക ചമൈചുചു ഇ
5. നുനകരമു കണുട്ടു നീരേററ മരുവാനു സപീരീ ശൊ ചെയ്വിചുചു തരി
6. സ്സാപുപളുളികുകു കട്ടതുത പൂമിയാവതു | കോയില തികാരികളു വിയരാകണു
7. തേവരു ഉടുപട ഇരുനുതരുളിപുപിടി നടതുതിനീരു തുതുളുളിയോടു കൂ
8. ട അയ്യനടികളു തിരുവടിയുമ് ഇളങ്കുറു വാഴിനുറ രാമതിരുവ
9. ടിയുമ് അതികാരരുമ് പ്രകൃതിയുമ് അറുനൂറുവരുമ് പുനുനൈതുതലൈയ്
10. പതിയുമ് പൂളൈകുകുടിപുപതിയുമ് ഉളുപുപട വചുചു ഇപുപൂമികുകെ
11. ലുലൈ കിഴകുകു വയലുകുകാടൈയെലുലൈയാ കവുങ് കോയിലുമുടുപടതുതെ
12. നുകിഴകുകു ചിറുവാതിലുകുകാലു മതിലൈയെലു ലൈയാകവുമുപടിഞ്ഞായി
13. റു കടലൈയെലുലൈയാകവുമ് വടകുകു തുതോരണ തുതോടുടമേയെലുലൈ യാ

First Plate, Second Side

14. കവുമ് വടകിഴകുകു പുപൂനുനൈതുതലൈ അണുടി ലനുതോടുടമേ യെലുലൈയാകവു
15. മുഇനുനാനുകെലുലൈകുകമ് അകപുപടുട പൂമി പിടിനടതുതി ഉലകമ് ചനുതിരാ

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16. തിത്തിയരുമ് ഉള്ള നാളെല്ലാഞ്ചെല്പ പത് തിരമ് ചെയ്തു കൂടത്തെനു് | അയ്യന
17. ടികളു് തിരുവടിയുമ് ഇരാമ തിരുവടിയുങ്കോയില തികാരികളുമ്പടമൈ
18. ത്തരുളി ഇപ്പൂമിയില്ക്കടികളയുമ് എപ്പിഴൈ ചൊല്ലിയുമ് പള്ളിയാരൈയരു്
19. പിഴൈയുമഴി | (തലൈ) വിലൈയുമ്മലൈ വിലൈയുമ് പള്ളിയാരേ കൊള്ളപ്പെറുവരു് |
20. നനു്തമരെപ്പേറ്പ്പടു്ടാരുമ് എപ്പിഴൈ ചൊല്ലിയുമ് പൂമിത്തലൈയുമ്
21. കടികളു് — — — ചെല്ലപ്പെറാരു് | അറുനൂറുവരുമ് അഞ്ചുവണ്ണമുമ്മണി
22. ക്കിരാമമുമ്ഇരക്ഷിക്കക്കടവര് പള്ളിയൈയുമ് പൂമിയൈയുമ് | ഉലകു
23. മ്ചനുതിരാതിത്തിയരുമ് ഉള്ള നാളെല്ലാഞ്ചെപ്പു പത്തിരത്തിലു്
24. പ്പടുടവണ്ണഞ്ചെയ്തു കൊള്ളക്കടവരു് അഞ് ചുവണ്ണമുമ് മണിക്കി
25. രാമമുമ് ഇവകള്ക്കു | ക്കോയിലതികാരികള്വിയരാക തേവരുള്പ്പട ഇ
26. രുനുതരുളി അയ്യനടികളു് തിരുവടിയുമ് ഇരാമതിരുവടിയുമ് ഉടുപട ഇ
27. രുനുതരുളി (ഒപ്പു്) ഇവകള്ക്കുക്കുകുടത്ത

Second Plate, First Side

28. വിടുപേറാവതു | അറുപതിലൊന്നുല്കങ്കള് വരത്തിലുല്ക്കിലൈയാകവുമ് അഴിവു
29. ല്കിലൈയാകവുമ് | ഇവകളു് കൊള്ളമ് അടിമൈക്കു ആള്ക്കാചു കൊള്ളപ്പെറാരാ
30. കവുമ്. | വായിനമ് വരുമതില് വരത്തിലുമ്പോക്കിലുമ് എടുട്ട കാചു കൊള്ളക്കടവ
31. രാകവുമ് | വെടിയിലുമ് പടകിലുമ് പോക്കിലുമ് വരത്തിലുനുനാലു കാചു കൊള്ള
32. ക്കടവരാകവുമ് | ഉല്കു പട്ടഞ്ചരക്കു ഇവകളൈക്കുട വചുചു ഉല്കു പിടുപ്പതാകവു

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33. മ് | ചരക്കുമിലൈയിട്ടമിടത്തും മറ്റുമേ സ്വാമികാരിയമ് എക്കാരിയമുമ്

34. ഇവകളൈക്കൂട്ടിയേ ചെയ്വതാകവുമ് | അന്റന്റു പട്ടമുല്കു അഞ്ചു വണ്ണമുമ്

35. മണിക്കിരാമമുമ് ഇലച്ചിച്ചു വൈപ്പതാകവുമ് | നാലു വാതിലകത്തു

36. മ് വിലക്കുമ് പൂമിയാക കാരാണ്മൈ ക്കൊട്ടക്കുമെടത്തുങ് കോപ്പതവാരങ്

37. കോയില് കൊണ്ട പതിപ്പതവാരമ് അഞ്ചു വണ്ണമുമ് മണിക്കിരാമമു

38. ങ്കൊള്വതാക | ഇവകള്ക്കു മങ്കല്യത്തുക്കു ആനൈമേല് മണ്ണനീര് മുത

39. ലാക എഴുപത്തിരണ്ട വിട്ടപേറുമ് വച്ചുക്കുട്ടാറ് കോയിലതി

40. കാരികള് വിയരാകതേവര് ഉള്പ്പട ഇരുന്തരുളി അയ്യനടി

41. കള് തിരുവടിയുമ് രാമതിരുവടിയുമ് പ്രകൃതിയുമ് അതി

42. കാരരുമ് അറുനൂറുവരുമ് പുന്നൈത്തലൈ പ്പതിയുമ് പുളൈക്കടിപ്പ

43. തിയുമ് ഉംപ്പടവൈത്തു | ഉലകുമ് ചന്തിരാതിത്തിയരുമ് ഒള്ള നാളൈല്ലാ

44. മ് ഇവ്വട്ടി പ്പേറൈല്ലാഞ്ചൈപ്പു പത്തിര ത്തില് പ്പട്ട വണ്ണഞ്ചെയ്തു

45. കൊള്ളപ്പെറുവര് അഞ്ചുവണ്ണമുമ് മണിക്കിരാമമുമ് | ഇവകള്ക്കു

46. അന്നിയായ മൊണ്ടായില് ഉല്കു തുലാക്കുലിതട്ടത്തു ന്തങ്ങള് അന്ഞായന്തീ

47. റ്ത്തു കൊള്ള ക്കടവര് | തങ്കള് ചെയ്യുമ് പിഴൈയുണ്ടാകിറങ്കളൈക്കൊണ്ടേ യാരാഞ്ഞു

48. കൊള്ളക്കടവരാകവു മിന്നകരത്തുക്കു ക്കാരാളരാക നീരേറാര് അഞ്ചുവണ്ണമു

49. മ് മണി ക്കിരാമമുമ് | ഇവരുളിരണ്ട തലൈയാരുമ് കൂടിച്ചെയ്വതെയ്

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50. കരുമമാകവുമ് | ഇന്നകരങ്ങ്കണ്ട നീരേറാ മരുവാന്
സപരീശൊ മുന്നമ് പള്ളി

51. യാര് പെറുടെയ വാരക്കൊലുമ് പഞ്ചകണ്
ടിയുമ് മരുവാന് സപരീശൊ നെ

52. റുത്തു നിനൈക്കുലി പള്ളിക്ക കൂടുക്ക കുടവര് | ഇതുവുമ് അടിപ്പ്

53. പോറാകക്കൂടുത്തേന് ഉലകഞ്ചന് തിരാതി ത്തി
യരുമ് ഒള്ള നാളെല്ലാം

[This is followed by 18 lines of Pahlavi script, 10 lines of Arabic (Kufic) script, and 3 lines of Hebrew script—all of them used for signature]

English Translation:

No. 1. First and Second Plates.

Hail Prosperity! The fifth year of the many hundreds of thousands of years during which king *Sthanu Ravi* is destined to rule victorious after conquering his enemies. In this year while *Ayyan Atikal Tiruvatikal*, who is the governor of *Venatu, Adhikarar, Prakriti, Manigramam* and *Ancuvannam*, and the *Pati* of *Punnaittalai* sat together, *Ayyan Atikal Tiruvatikal* granted as gift to the church of *Tarsa*, established at *Kurakkeni Kollam* by *Esoda Tapirayi*, four families of *Ilavar* and eight *Ilava* males belonging to these families, making up twelve in total, and one family of *Vannar*. No *Talaikkanam* or *Enikkanam* or *Manaimeypan Kollum irai* or *Cantan mattu menipponnu* or *Polipponnu* or *Iravu Coru* or *Kutanali* shall be collected from any of these people. I have also granted *Varakkol, Kappan* and *Paincakkanti* which were formerly enjoyed by them. I have granted as mentioned in this copper-plate these four families of *Ilavar*, one family of *Vannar* and all forms of taxes to the authorities of the church of *Tarsa*. These *Ilavar* may bring their cart to the bazaar and the fort and do business there. The *Vannan* may also come to the bazaar and the fort and ply his trade. The *Tiyamalvan*, the *Matinayakan*, and others shall not obstruct them on account of any offence. If they commit any offence whatsoever,

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the *Palliyar* alone shall enquire into them. I have granted all these privileges mentioned in the copper-plate to last as long as the world, the moon and the sun endure. *Maruvan Sapir Iso* caused *Ayyan Atikal Tiruvatikal* to grant these privileges to the church of *Tarsa*. May God bless those who protect this grant. This is the writing of *Ayyan*. (Signature) This is agreed to by *Velkulasundaran*. (Signature) Vijaya.....

No. 2. First and Second Plates.

This is the land which *Maruvan Sapir Iso*, who received this *Nagaram* with libation of water, presented to the church of *Tarsa* after making arrangements for two families of—, one family of *Tachar*, and four families of *Vellalar* who are the tenants of the gift land, to guarentee that the church is not lacking anything in the form of oil etc. by sowing what is to be sown and giving what is to be given. *Ayyan Atikal Tiruvati, Rama Tiruvati* the crown prince, *Adhikarar, Prakriti, Arunurruvar*, and the *Patis* of *Punnaittalai* and *Pulaikkuti* sitting together with *Vijayaragadeva* the *Koyil Adhikarikal*, and after performing the ceremony of walking the female elephant and pouring out water, fixed the boundaries of this land thus :— *Vayalkkatu* shall be the boundary in the east; The wall of *Ciruvatilkkal* along with the palace shall be the boundary in the south east; the sea shall be the boundary in the west; *Toranattottam* shall be the boundary in the north; and *Punnattalai Antilantottam* shall be the boundary in the north east. I have granted with copper-plate the land within these four boundaries after the ceremony of walking the female elephant so that it shall remain as long as the world, the moon and the sun endure; I did this sitting together with *Ayyanatikal Tiruvati, Rama Tiruvati*, and the *Koyiladhikarikal*. The *Palliyar* alone shall fine and....the settlers on this land on account of any offence. The *Palliyar* alone shall receive head price and breast price. None of our servants shall, on account of any offence, encroach upon this land. The *Arunurruvar, Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* shall protect the church and its land. The *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* shall protect the church and its land. The *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* shall serve these people as mentioned in the copper-plates as long as the world, the moon and the sun endure. The following are the privileges granted to these people when *Ayyan Atikal Tiruvati* and

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Irama Tiruvati sat together with *Koyiladhikarikal Vijayaragadeva*. They are exempted from the one-sixtieth duty at the time of entrance and at the time of sale. Slave-tax shall not be realised for the slaves purchased by them. They shall pay eight *Kasu* per carriage at the time of entrance and at the time of departure, and four *Kasu* per boat at the time of entrance and departure. Taxable articles shall be taxed in consultation with them. His majesty's business in anything like the fixation of the price of articles shall be conducted in association with them. The *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* shall keep the duty collected each day after affiixing the seal. When any land within the four gates of the fort is obstructed and leased out to tenants, the one-tenth share of the sovereign shall go to the prince and the one-tenth share of the lord shall go to *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam*. *Ayyan Atikal Tiruvati, Rama Tiruvati, Prakriti, Adhikarar, Arunurruvar, Punnaittalai Pati,* and *Pulaikkuti Pati* sitting together with *Koyil Adhikarikal Vijayaragadeva,* conferred on these people the seventy two privileges beginning with earth and water on elephant back for marriages. The *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* shall enjoy all these privileges and act according to the copper-plates as long as the world, the moon and the sun endure. If they have any grievance they are authorised to reddress the grievance even by obstructing the payment of duty and weighing fee. The *Ancuvannam* and *Manikkiramam* who took up the tenancy of the *Nagaram* with libation of water shall themselves enquire into offences committed by their people. That which is done jointly by these two heads alone shall be valid. In the case of The *Varakkol* and *Pancakkanti* which *Maravan Sapir Iso* who received this *Nagaram* with libation of water had earned for the *Palliyar* earlier, *Maṟuvan Sapir Iso* shall keep the measure and hand over the measuring fee to the church. I have given all this with absolute rights to last as long as the moon and the sun endure.

Notes: No. I. *Adhikarar* = Officials. *Prakriti* = Chief citizens. *Manikkiramam* = Corporation of Christian merchants. *Ancuvannam* = Corporation of Jewish merchants. *Pati* = Head or Chieftain. This term is usually applied to the head of the settlers' families in a village. *Ilakkayyar* = Male members of the *Ilava* families. *Talaikkanam* = Fetter fee. *Enikkanam* = Ladder fee. The fetter and the ladder were

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the working tools of toddy-tappers. A kind of licensing fee was realised from the skilled labourers. *Manai meypan kollum irai* = Tax for permission to thatch the house. *Cantan mattu menippon* = Per capita gold payment for *Cantan*. *Cantaṉ* = Chief of the *Ilava* clan. *Pŏlippon* = Gold payment for special occasions. *Iravu Coru* = This term literally means night meal. Perhaps the settlers in crown lands were obliged to supply meals to soldiers or officers of the state. *Kutanali* = This term literally means one *Nali* per *Kutam*. Perhaps the *Ilavas* were obliged to surrender part of the toddy produced by them to the landlord at a specified rate. *Varakkol, Kappan, Paincakkanti* = These are some privileges related to the maintenance of standards in weights and measures. *Tiyamalvan* = Magistrate? Supervisor of the market? *Matinayakan*=Commander of the fort. *Vijaya.....*=This might be the prince *Vijayaragadeva*.

No. 2. *Tachar*=Carpenters. *Vellalar*=Cultivators. These terms are used both for the occupation group and the sub-caste. The damaged portion seems to contain the term *Vaniyar* to indicate oil producers since the supply of oil to the church is mentioned in the subsequent passage. *Piti*=Female elephant. *Pumi Piti natatti*= It seems to have been the convention to take a female elephant round a plot of land when the boundaries were marked. *Ulakum cantiratityarum .....* = It was the conventional way of recording a permanent gift to say that it was meant to last as long as the world, the moon and the sun endure. *Kutikal* = Cottages. This came to indicate 'family' and 'settlers' in due course. *Talaivilai* = Head price. *Mulaivilai* = Breast price. *Varattil ulkku* = Entrance duty. *Azhivulkku* = Sales duty. There was a one-thirtieth duty on all imported articles, half of it being paid at the time of entrance and half of it at the time of sale. *Atimaikku Alkkasu* = Per capita tax for slaves. *Koppatavaram* = The one-tenth share of the overlord. *Patippatavaram*=The one-tenth share of the landlord. *Mangalyam*= marriage. *Anaimel mannu nir* = This appears to refer to the custom of carrying soil and water on elephant back for the ceremonial plantation called *'ankurarppana'* or *'mulaippaligai'* at the time of marriage. *Elupattirantu vituper* = The conventional seventy two privileges of aristocracy in Kerala. The grant of these privileges to the Syrian Christian symbolises the naturalisation of the foreigner in Kerala.

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Appendix V

(Chapter VI)

A. The Muccunti Mosque Inscription

Script : Vatteluttu and Arabic. Language : Old Malayalam and Arabic

Malayalam Transliteration :

Left Side

1. പുന്തുറെ ക്കോന്
2. റ നീട്ട | കേട്ട
3. വിളിയന് കണ്ട
4. ചെയാന് | മുപ്
5. ചിയന് പള്ളി
6. ക്കു അവന് കല്
7. പ്പി ച്ചു കൊട്ട
8. ത്താന് നാഴി
9. ചെലവ മച്ചു
10. കൊട്ടത് തോമ് | അ
11. തിന്കു ഒന്റിന
12. .....അ
13. വന് പള്ളി
14. ക്കു കല് പ്പി
15. ച്ചു വിട്ട കി
16. ന്റവുങ് കുന്റ
17. മങ്ങലമ്മ
18. .....പുളി
19. ക്കിഴ്.....പ
20. ള്ളി ക്കു അട്ടത്
21. തുള്ള ട ത്താവ—
22. തു | മെലുമ്
23. പള്ളിക്കാ
24. വിതമ്.....
25. .....

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26. പന്റിരണ്ട പൈയാവ
27. ഇ.....
28. .....
29. .....
30. .....
31. .....
32. .....

[The right half of the same granite surface contains a few lines of Arabic script which appear to indicate signatures]

English Translation:

This is the order of *Punturakkon*. This is to be executed by the officer in attendance. He ordered that daily expenses of one *Nali* (of rice) shall be granted to the *Mucciyan's* mosque.....He ordered that from *Kunramangalam*..... *Pulikkil*..... to the mosque..... in future also..... twelve *para*.....

Notes: Punturakkon=This was the official title of the *Zamorin* of Calicut, supposedly conferred on the founder by a *Ceraman Perumal* (king of Kerala) for service in the battle of Puntura. *Kettuviliyan*= This term literally means "the man who answers a call" and could be the title of the officer in constant attendance.

B. The Legend of the Merchant from Maskiyatt in Keralolpathi Chronicle

''മസ്കിയത്ത് ദ്വീപികൽ ഇരുവർ പുത്രന്മാർ ജനിച്ചു ണ്ടായി (ഒരു ബാവക്കു പിറന്നവർ.) ഇടഞ്ഞപ്പോഴേ അവരുടെ ബാവ മുത്തവനോട് പറഞ്ഞു: ''നിങ്ങൾ തമ്മിൽ മത്സരിച്ച മറെയവൻ നിന്നെ വധിയ്ക്കും, എന്റെ ശേഷത്തിങ്കൽ, അതു കൊണ്ട് നിങ്ങൾ ഇരിവരും ഇവിടെ ഇരിക്കേണ്ടാ. നീ വല്ല ദ്വീപാന്തരത്തിങ്കൽ പോയി നിന്റേടം കഴിക്ക അത്രേ നിനക്കു നല്ലതും. അതിന്നു നിനക്കു പൊറുപ്പാൻ മാത്രം പൊന്നു തരുന്നുണ്ട്.'' എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു ഒരു കപ്പലിൽ പിടിപ്പതു ദ്രവ്യം കൊടുത്തു അവനെ അയച്ചു. അവൻ അനേകം

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[illegible]

English Translation: "In the island of *Muscot*, a man had two sons. When they started fighting each other, the father told his elder son : 'After my time, you two will compete and your brother will kill you. Therefore the two of you shall not remain here. It is better for you to go to some new place overseas and settle down there. I will give you enough gold for that purpose.' Saying this the father loaded a ship with gold and sent him away. He went to several countries, met the respective kings and offered them presents. He gave curious presents. He placed gold in a box and closed it after putting some pickles above it and offered it in the name of pickles. His aim was to test their honesty so as to discover the land of the honest one and settle down there. None of the kings revealed the truth. When he offered the same presents to *Punturakkon*, the latter answered : 'You are mistaken. This is gold, not pickles'. At this he knew that the king was trustworthy. This is the story of the settlement of the *Koya* of Kozhikode",

Notes: Maskiyatt The name of the island could have been *'Muscot'* and in Malabar it could be pronounced as *'Mukkott'* so that the immigrant was known as *'Mukkiyan'* and his mosque as the mosque of *'Mukkiyan'*. As 'ka' and 'ca' are interchangeable it could become *'Muccriyan'* thus giving the mosque its present name. *Kozhikkottu Koya* This was the hereditary title enjoyed by the senior member of a Muslim family who was acknowledged as the chief of all the Muslims in *Kozhikode*.

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